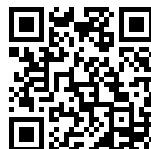


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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF  
RHETORIC

**ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY PRESS.**

AN  
INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF  
RHETORIC

*FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS*

BY  
THE VERY REV.  
FRANCIS CUTHBERT DOYLE, O.S.B.



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## CHAPTER I.

### PRELIMINARY NOTIONS.

WHAT IS A FACULTY? A faculty is a power bestowed upon us by God, which power enables us to do anything whether corporal or intellectual. Thought, imagination, memory, are faculties.

WHAT IS AN ART? Art is an habitual power, that is to say, a power not born with man, but acquired by means of a system of well-approved precepts.

IS THE POWER OF PERSUASION A FACULTY OR AN ART? The power of persuasion may be regarded either as a faculty or as an art. As a faculty, it is called *Eloquence*, and is defined to be: "The power of moving others to act, by convincing their intelligence, by moving their hearts, and by bending their wills". As an art, it is called *Rhetoric*, and is defined to be: "That body of rules or precepts by which the faculty of eloquence is guided so as more securely to obtain its end".

CAN ELOQUENCE BE ACQUIRED? Cicero was of opinion that any one might become eloquent by a diligent study of the precepts of Rhetoric. But if we remember that eloquence is a faculty, we must confess that rules and precepts cannot supply that which nature has not given. Yet, though Rhetoric cannot give men the faculty which God has refused, it is able to develop any talent for eloquence which may be latent within them. That which Horace says of poetry is equally true of eloquence: "A question has been raised as to the source of poetry, whether it springs from

nature or from art. For my own part, I cannot conceive what either study is able to effect without the aid of a rich natural vein of talent, or uncultured genius can produce if left to its own blundering efforts; so dependent is the one upon the assistance of the other, and so amicably do they conspire to give birth to the same effect."<sup>1</sup>

HOW MANY KINDS OF ELOQUENCE ARE THERE? Aristotle divides eloquence into three kinds: deliberative, judicial, and demonstrative.

DELIBERATIVE ELOQUENCE is employed in all affairs relating to the State, and corresponds to our parliamentary eloquence.

JUDICIAL ELOQUENCE deals with legal matters, and corresponds to the eloquence of the Bar.

DEMONSTRATIVE ELOQUENCE is used when we treat of subjects the object of which is to praise or to blame. Such, for example, are panegyrics, harangues, and academical discourses.

IS ARISTOTLE'S DIVISION A GOOD ONE? Yes; because, in the first place, it corresponds to the threefold *object* of thought. This is (1) the good and the beautiful, which constitute the matter of deliberative eloquence; (2) the true and the just, which are objects about which judicial eloquence busies itself; (3) the beautiful and its contrary, which make up the matter of demonstrative eloquence.

In the second place, his division is good, if eloquence is viewed in its relation to the audience to which it is addressed. For every hearer has a *past* to which he can look back, a *present* with which he is intimately concerned, and a future for which he has to provide. He *deliberates* upon what he must do; and then any discourse addressed to him upon that, regards the future. He gives his *judgment* upon that which

<sup>1</sup> *Ars Poetica*, 408.

he has done ; then words addressed to him upon that matter, have reference to the past. He listens to what is said to him ; and then he simply gives to the matter addressed to him his praise or his blame, because there is then question of some *present* action.

CAN THIS DIVISION BE STRICTLY ADHERED TO? The Ancients, as a rule, adhere strictly to Aristotle's division, but it need not be followed rigorously ; for then we should have to maintain that in every discourse we must either *praise* or *blame*, and occupy ourselves with the *true*, or the *beautiful*, or the *good*. Both praise and blame may often have to be administered in the same discourse, and a speaker has in one speech to treat of the true, the beautiful, and the good.

IS THE DIVISION A COMPLETE ONE? The division is not complete ; for since Aristotle's day a new kind of eloquence has entered upon the scene. This is religious or sacred eloquence, which is not *judicial*, nor entirely *deliberative*, nor yet solely *demonstrative*, but has in it a little of each of these kinds of eloquence.

WHAT IS THE MODERN DIVISION OF ELOQUENCE? The Moderns, taking as the principle of their partition the place in which the orator speaks, have divided eloquence into five kinds ; namely, parliamentary, forensic, pulpit, academic, and military eloquence.

## CHAPTER II.

### RHETORIC.

WHAT IS RHETORIC? Rhetoric, taken etymologically, is the art of *speaking* well, and may be defined to be: "That body of rules and precepts by which the faculty of eloquence is guided more securely to obtain its end". But as men may be persuaded not only by the spoken but by the *written* word, Rhetoric may furthermore be defined to be: "The art of writing well"; or, joining both kinds of eloquence: "The art of speaking and of writing well". Again, in the words of Aristotle, Rhetoric is defined to be: "The means of finding in every subject that which at once convinces and persuades".

WHAT IS ITS PURPOSE OR OBJECT? The purpose or object of Rhetoric is to develop and direct the talent of those who have received the faculty of eloquence.

INTO HOW MANY PARTS IS RHETORIC DIVIDED? Rhetoric is divided into three parts, which are called respectively: Invention, Disposition or Arrangement, and Elocution.

WHAT IS THE REASON OF THIS DIVISION? Rhetoric is divided into the above-named parts, because these three correspond to the threefold function of the writer or the speaker. First, he has to find proofs by which to make good the thesis or truth of which he wishes to persuade his audience. It is the office of invention to discover these proofs.

Secondly, in order that these may operate with telling effect upon the minds of his audience, he must put them in a suit-

able order. To do this is the office of disposition or arrangement.

Thirdly, he must present these proofs to his audience either by words or by writing. It is the office of elocution<sup>1</sup> to do this. Hence the division of Rhetoric into three parts: Invention, Disposition or Arrangement, and Elocution.

IS THERE ANOTHER REASON FOR THIS DIVISION? For this division there is another reason which recommends it. It is that the division is founded upon the nature of the human mind, which follows this method of procedure: the subject, together with its proofs and every means which will establish its truth, is first conceived by the mind; in the next place the matter thus conceived is arranged in a natural order; lastly, it is presented to the intelligences of the audience, clothed in a style suitable to the capacity of those to whom it is addressed.

To these three parts into which Rhetoric is divided, a fourth is added by some, though many consider that it is already included in *elocution*. This is *action* or the delivery of the discourse.

<sup>1</sup> Elocution is here taken in its Rhetorical sense.

## CHAPTER III.

### INVENTION.

#### SECTION I.

##### *Proofs.*

WHAT IS INVENTION? Invention may be considered either as a faculty or as an art. As a faculty, it is the power or ability which the speaker or the writer has of discovering those materials out of which he weaves his discourse.

As a part of Rhetoric, it is defined to be : "The art which supplies rules and precepts to aid the speaker or the writer to discover these materials".

TO WHAT OBJECTS IS INVENTION DIRECTED? Invention is directed to three objects, which are : (1) proofs with which to convince and satisfy the reason ; (2) manners with which to please and captivate the soul ; (3) passions with which to persuade and dominate the affections.

IS IT NECESSARY IN EVERY DISCOURSE TO EMPLOY THESE MEANS OF PERSUASION? No ; because the speaker or the writer has not always these purposes in view in the oration which he delivers, or in the essay which he writes. Sometimes his only object is to prove what he has stated ; at others, it is to please and to instruct ; and at others, it is to instruct, to please, and to move. His own good sense must be his guide in the choice of these means.

WHAT IS A PROOF? A proof is a reason advanced by the speaker or the writer, to demonstrate the truth of that which

he asserts. This demonstration is made by argumentation, that is to say, by a process of reasoning which rests upon three principles: authority, induction, and deduction.

WHEN IS THE PROOF FROM AUTHORITY USED? The proof from authority is used when we wish to establish a matter of fact, or a point of doctrine. Thus Cicero proves the citizenship of his client Archias:—

“Will you deny that Archias was enrolled as a citizen in Heraclea? Here is a man of the greatest truth, integrity, honour, Marcus Lucullus, who asserts, not that he thinks, but that he knows; not that he has heard, but that he has seen; not that he was present at, but that he transacted the whole affair.”—*Cicero. Pro Archia.*

WHAT IS INDUCTION? Induction is a process or form of reasoning by which from a number of *particular* instances we arrive at a *general* conclusion.

EXAMPLE. I find that all heavy bodies gravitate towards the centre of the earth, lead, iron, stone, blocks of timber, &c., and from this fact I argue thus: “A property or a law which is common to each individual of a class, belongs to all that class; but it is a law of each heavy body, to gravitate towards the centre of the earth; therefore,” &c.

WHAT IS DEDUCTION? Deduction is a process or form of reasoning by which from a *general* principle we draw a *particular* conclusion.

EXAMPLE. “All heavy bodies gravitate towards the centre of the earth; but this bullet is a heavy body, therefore it gravitates towards the centre of the earth”.

HOW MANY KINDS OF ARGUMENTS ARE THERE? There are six kinds of arguments; namely, the Syllogism, the Enthymeme, the Prosyllogism, the Sorites, the Epicherema, and the Dilemma.

WHAT IS A SYLLOGISM? A Syllogism is an argument consisting of three propositions, of which the third proposi-



tion is deduced from the two preceding. These two are called Premisses. The first proposition is called the Major ; the second, the Minor ; and the third, the Conclusion. These propositions are thus named, because every syllogism consists of three terms which are called respectively, the *major* term, the *minor* term, and the *middle* term.

Therefore, that proposition of which the predicate or attribute is the major term, is called after it, the *Major* ; that of which the minor is the subject, the *Minor* ; and that in which the minor term is compared with the major, is called the *Conclusion*.

The minor term is always the *subject* of the conclusion.

The major term is always the *attribute* of the conclusion.

The middle term is that which we employ to judge of the relation which exists between the major term and the minor term. It is the subject of the major premiss or proposition.

EXAMPLE :—

All men are mortal.

William is a man.

Therefore William is mortal.

*William* is the *minor* term. *Mortal* is the *major* term.  
*All men* is the *middle* term.

All vice must be avoided.

Hypocrisy is a vice.

Therefore hypocrisy must be avoided.

Man is a rational animal.

George is a man.

Therefore he is a rational animal.

Whatever makes men happy should be loved.

But virtue makes men happy.

Therefore virtue should be loved.

He that can save, can destroy.

I have been able to save you.

Therefore I could have destroyed you.

It is lawful to kill any one who attempts to take away our life.

But Clodius attempted to take away the life of Milo.

Therefore it was lawful for Milo to kill Clodius.

WHAT ARE THE RULES FOR THE USE OF THE SYLLOGISM?

FIRST RULE. In every syllogism there must be only *three* terms—three in number and three in sense—because the essence of a syllogism consists in comparing two terms with a third. Hence if there were four terms, it would not be a syllogism, but several comparisons from which no conclusion could be drawn.

SECOND RULE. No term must have in the conclusion an extension greater than it has in the premisses. The reason is that there would then be in the conclusion, a something which is not in the premisses.

THIRD RULE. The middle term must not be found in the conclusion.

This rule is obvious; for the only reason why the middle term is introduced, is that it may be compared with the extremes.<sup>1</sup> But this comparison of the middle term with the extremes is made in the premisses; therefore, the middle term can have no place in the conclusion.

FOURTH RULE. The middle term must be used to the full extent of its meaning, at least once in the premisses. For if the middle term be not at least once *distributed*, that is to say, be not at least once a universal, it would be equivalent to two terms, inasmuch as it might be taken according to one part of its extent in one premiss, and according to another part in the other, and thus the major

<sup>1</sup> Another name for the major and minor terms.

and the minor term would be compared with two things instead of with one.

**FIFTH RULE.** From two negative premisses no conclusion can be drawn.

Because they pronounce that neither extreme agrees with the middle term. But when of two things neither agrees with a given third, it cannot be inferred that those two things either agree or disagree with each other. Therefore, no conclusion can be drawn.

**SIXTH RULE.** From two affirmative premisses a negative conclusion cannot be drawn.

Because these two affirmative propositions assert the agreement of the major and the minor term with the middle term. Therefore the conclusion must affirm the agreement of the major and the minor.

**SEVENTH RULE.** From two particular premisses no conclusion can be drawn.

For the particular premisses may both be negative, or both affirmative, or the one affirmative, the other negative. In none of these three cases can any conclusion be drawn.

If both are negative, then according to the fifth rule, no conclusion can be drawn.

If both are particular, affirmative propositions, there can be no legitimate conclusion, according to the fourth rule, which requires that in one of the premisses the middle term should be used to the full extent of its meaning, that is to say, should be universal.

If one of the particular premisses is negative, the other affirmative, no legitimate conclusion can be drawn ; for if any legitimate conclusion could be drawn, that conclusion, in accordance with the eighth rule, ought to be negative. But a negative conclusion cannot legitimately be drawn from the aforesaid premisses ; for since in the conclusion a universal term is the attribute to the negative, in like manner that

term ought, according to the second rule, to be universal in the premisses. Moreover, the middle term ought also in the premisses to be taken, at least once universally. Hence it is necessary that two universal terms should be found in the premisses. But two universal terms cannot be found in particular premisses, of which the one is affirmative, the other negative. For, since these premisses are particular, each subject is taken particularly. Moreover, since one is affirmative, its attribute is also taken particularly. There remains, therefore, only one universal term, namely, the attribute of the negative premiss. Therefore, no legitimate conclusion can be drawn.

**EIGHTH RULE.** The conclusion must follow the weaker or less worthy part, that is to say, it must be *particular* if one of the premisses is particular, and *negative*, if one of them is negative.

The reason of this rule will become evident, if it be observed that when the first premiss affirms the agreement of its extreme term with the middle term, and the second premiss denies the agreement of the other term with the middle term, it follows that the extremes disagree with each other. Again, if a term which is particular in the premisses be made universal in the conclusion, there will be affirmed in the conclusion an agreement which is not affirmed in the premisses.

**WHAT IS AN ENTHYMEME?** An Enthymeme is a syllogism of which one of the propositions is suppressed.

Vice is odious, and therefore to be shunned.

Maximin was a tyrant, and therefore deserved death.

He was an irreligious man, and therefore unhappy.

Life is a good thing, and therefore to be loved.

**WHAT IS A PROSYLLOGISM OR POLYSYLLOGISM?** A Prosyllogism consists of five propositions forming two syllogisms; the conclusion of the first becoming the major proposition of the second.

If the series of syllogisms is thus continued, it takes the name Polysyllogism.

EXAMPLE :—

(1) Every good Catholic is proud of his religion.

But the Archbishop is a good Catholic.

Therefore he is proud of his religion.

All who are proud of their religion are anxious to serve it.

Therefore the Archbishop is anxious to serve it.

(2) That which is simple cannot perish by decomposition.

But a spirit is simple.

Therefore it cannot perish by decomposition.

That which cannot perish by decomposition is the soul.

Therefore the soul is simple.

WHAT IS A SORITES ? A Sorites is an argument consisting of a series of propositions so connected that the attribute of the first becomes the subject of the second, the attribute of the second, the subject of the third, and so on till we arrive at the conclusion which we wish to draw.

EXAMPLE :—

The Romans were a brave people.

A brave people are free.

A free people are happy.

Therefore the Romans were happy.

WHAT IS AN EPICHEREMA ? An Epicherema is a syllogism each of the propositions of which is accompanied by its proof.

(1) We must love that which makes us happy ; to do so is a law of our nature and the end of our being.

But virtue makes us happy, as the experience of centuries and our own experience prove to us.

Therefore we must love virtue.

(2) It is lawful to kill any one who lays snares to take away our life ; natural law, the right of nations, countless examples prove this.

But Clodius laid snares for Milo; his arms, his soldiers, his proceedings demonstrate this. Therefore it was lawful for Milo to kill Clodius; consequently Milo is innocent.

WHAT IS A DILEMMA? A Dilemma is a syllogism of which the major is a disjunctive proposition; the minor takes each of the disjunctive members and shows how it establishes the statement of him who is arguing against his opponent.

EXAMPLES. (1) The two substantives either have the same meaning, or they have not; if they have the same meaning, one of them is superfluous and ought to be eliminated; if they have not, then each of them represents a different idea. Therefore the verb of which they are the subject should be in the plural.

(2) Soldier! either you were at your post, or you were not; if you were at your post and did not give the alarm, you are a traitor; if you were not, you grievously offended against discipline. Therefore you are worthy of death.

The blessed in heaven either will have no desires, or will have them fully gratified: if they have no desires, they will be perfectly content; if they have their desires fully gratified, also they will be perfectly content. Therefore the blessed in heaven will be perfectly content.

Æschines either joined in the public rejoicings, or did not: if he joined in them, he is inconsistent; if he did not, he is unpatriotic. Therefore he is either inconsistent or unpatriotic.

WHAT ARE THE RULES FOR THE DILEMMA? The rules for the dilemma are three in number.

FIRST RULE. The disjunctive proposition or premiss must exclude every possible alternative. The following dilemma offends against this rule: "Man must of necessity devote himself to the one or to the other of these two things: either to his eternal interests, or to his temporal interests."

"If to the former, he will ruin the interests of his family : if to the latter, he will lose his soul.

"Therefore he is in a most miserable situation.

"No, he is not ; for it is quite conceivable that he might attend to both interests."

SECOND RULE. The consequences must be indisputable. The following dilemma offends against this rule :—

"I must either give up wine, or continue to take it.

"If I give it up, I lower my general tone of health ; if I continue to take it, I gradually become a drunkard.

"Hence whether I drink wine or not, my health will be ruined."

In this case, the consequence does not necessarily follow. The general tone of health may be preserved by other remedies than by wine ; and if a man drinks wine, he may do so in moderation.

THIRD RULE. All retort must be impossible. The following dilemma offends against this rule :—

"If I accept the post which is offered to me, either I shall have to give up a comfortable and lucrative situation, or I shall miss a better one. To give up my situation will be a serious sacrifice ; to miss a better one will be prejudicial to my prospects.

"Hence I am much to be pitied."

RETORT. No, you are not ; for if you keep your situation, you have one that is comfortable and lucrative ; if you give it up, you will have one that is better.

TO WHAT MAY THESE VARIOUS MODES OF ARGUMENT BE REDUCED? They may all be reduced to the Syllogism : for the Enthymeme is only a syllogism which has one of its propositions suppressed ; the Epicherema, a syllogism having its proof with it ; the Prosyllogism, the Sorites and the Dilemma are only several syllogisms linked together in different ways.

## SECTION II.

*Intrinsic Sources of Proofs.*

HOW MANY SOURCES ARE THERE? There are two general sources of proofs : first, the subject itself of which the writer or the speaker is treating ; and secondly, every other consideration that is external to it. Proofs drawn from the first source are called *intrinsic* ; proofs drawn from the second source, *extrinsic*.

## EXAMPLE OF INTRINSIC PROOF :—

“ But perhaps  
The way seems difficult and steep to scale,  
With upright wing against a higher foe.  
Let such bethink them, if the sleepy drench  
Of that forgetful lake benumb not still,  
*That in our proper motion we ascend  
Up to our native seat : descent and fall  
To us is adverse.* Who but felt of late,  
When the fierce foe hung on our broken rear  
Insulting, and pursued us through the deep,  
With what compulsion and laborious flight  
We sank thus low ! ”

## EXTRINSIC PROOF :—

“ . . . Grounds his courage on despair  
And utter dissolution as the scope  
Of all his aim, after some dire revenge.  
First, what revenge? *The towers of heaven are filled  
With armed watch that render all access  
Impregnable : oft on the bordering deep  
Encamp their legions ; or with obscure wing  
Scout far and wide into the realms of night  
Scorning surprise.* ”

—*Paradise Lost*, Bk. ii.



HOW MANY INTRINSIC SOURCES ARE THERE? There are eight intrinsic sources of proofs; namely, Definition, Enumeration of parts, Genus and Species, Cause and Effect, Comparison, Contraries, Circumstances, Repugnants.

WHAT IS A DEFINITION? A definition is a short form of words, which form explains and unfolds the nature of anything. It is called an essential definition, when it lays down the *constituent parts or the essence*. It is called an accidental definition, when it assigns to anything the circumstances belonging to the essence, that is to say, its properties and accidents. This latter definition is the one which is used in Rhetoric, and might more properly be called a description.

EXAMPLE: "What is an army? It is a body animated by different passions—a body which a skilful man knows how to move effectually for the defence of the country; it is a troop of armed men who blindly follow the orders of a leader of whose intention they know nothing; it is a multitude of souls for the most part vile and mercenary, who, without thought for their own reputation, labour to build up one for kings and conquerors. It is an assembly of libertines who must be taught to obey; of cowards who must be inspired to fight; of headlong spirits who must be sharply reined in; of impatient spirits who must be made to persevere with constancy. What prudence is not requisite to lead and to unite so many different opinions to one single public good? How can they be inspired with fear and at the same time not be stirred up with hate and made to forsake their leader? How can he make them love him, without losing somewhat of his authority and loosening the bands of that discipline which is so necessary?"—*Fléchier on Turenne*.

WHAT IS MEANT BY ENUMERATION OF PARTS? By enumeration of parts is meant the partition or division of some given whole into its various parts. Thus, Cardinal Newman, speaking of natural virtue, says:—

"It blooms in the young like some rich flower, so delicate, so fragrant and so dazzling. Generosity and lightness of heart and amiableness, the confiding spirit, the gentle temper, the elastic cheerfulness, the open hand, the pure affection, the noble aspiration, the heroic resolve, the romantic pursuit, the love in which self has no part—are not these beautiful?"

Speaking of the body politic, he says:—

"Every party in the body politic undergoes its influence—from the Queen upon her throne down to the little ones in the infant or day school. The tens of thousands of the constituency, the sum total of Protestant sects, the aggregate of religious societies and associations, the great body of established clergy in town and country, the bar, even the medical profession, nay, even literary and scientific circles, every class, every interest, every fireside, gives token of this ubiquitous storm."—*The Second Spring*.

WHAT ARE GENUS AND SPECIES? Genus and species are correlative terms, neither of which can exist without the other. *Genus* is that term which has only a part of the essence of things, namely, their material part. *Species* is that term which expresses either their whole essence or their distinguishing feature. Thus, in the definition of man when we say that he is "a rational animal," the term *animal* is the genus, for animality is part of his essence; and *rational*, that is to say, rationality, is the species or distinguishing feature.

EXAMPLE: From *Genus*. "For in (God) we live and move and be. As some also of your own poets said: For we are also His offspring. Being therefore the offspring of God (*genus*), we must not suppose the Divinity to be like unto gold, or silver, or stone, the graving of art and the device of man."—*Acts* xvii. 28, 29.

EXAMPLE: From *Species*. "Therefore He is the Media-

tor of the New Testament, that by means of His death for the redemption of those transgressions that were under the former Testament they that are called may receive the promise of eternal inheritance. For where there is a testament the death of the testator must of necessity come in. For a testament is of force, after men are dead ; otherwise it is as yet of no strength whilst the testator liveth. Whereupon neither was the first indeed dedicated without blood. For when every commandment of the law had been read by Moses to all the people, he took the blood of calves and goats with water and scarlet wool and hyssop, and sprinkled both the book itself and all the people, saying : This is the blood of the testament which God hath enjoined unto you. The tabernacle also and all the vessels of the ministry, in like manner, he sprinkled with blood ; and almost all things, according to the law, are cleansed with blood : and without shedding of blood there is no remission.”—*Heb. ix. 15-22.*

WHAT ARE CAUSE AND EFFECT ? Cause and effect, like genus and species, are correlative terms, since there is no *effect* without a cause, and no *cause* without an effect.<sup>1</sup> A *cause* is that either by or through which anything is done. An *effect* is the result of the operation of some cause. These sources of proofs are much used in writing and in speaking.

The *material* cause is that out of which anything is made.

The *formal* cause is that which makes the thing what it is, and not something else ; it is its essence.

The *occasional* cause is that which gives rise to some effect, but does not itself directly cause it.

The *efficient* cause is that which produces the effect.

The *final* cause is that end for which the agent works or for which the thing is done.

In order to understand these various causes, let us suppose

<sup>1</sup> A cause may be *in act*, or in *power to act* : thus an artist is the cause of a painting ; but he need not paint.

that a sculptor has received an order to make a statue of the Queen. He at once procures a block of Parian marble from which to fashion the statue. That marble is the *material cause* of the statue. The *formal cause* of it is that which makes it the statue of the Queen and not of the Prince of Wales—the likeness, the dress and the size, &c. The *occasional cause* may be the fact that this is the Queen's jubilee year, or her seventieth birthday, or the anniversary of her marriage, or any similar cause. The *efficient cause* is the artist himself who carves the statue from the block of marble. Some give another cause, to wit, the *instrumental cause*—his chisels, mallets, &c. Lastly, the *final cause*, or that for which the artist works, may be fame, or money, or loyalty to the person of the Queen, or patriotism, or any other reason which is the object at which he aims when at work.

WHAT IS COMPARISON? Comparison when used as a source of argument may be employed in three ways : (1) from more to less ; (2) from less to more ; (3) from equal to equal.

FROM MORE TO LESS. (1) If God pardons men the offences which they commit against Him, why should not men forgive trivial injuries which they do to one another ?

(2) "The nobly born, the delicately nurtured are content with this rough fare ; and why should not you who have never had any better, and who have been accustomed to earn your daily bread in the sweat of your brow ?"

(3) God spared not His only-begotten Son when that Son stood before Him, having taken upon Himself the sins of men ; will He then spare the sinner who is the actual culprit ? Certainly not, unless he repent !

FROM LESS TO MORE. (1) "Rocks and deserts are responsive to the poet's voice, music has charms to soothe and tame the horrid savage, and shall we with all the advantages of excellent education be deaf to the voice of the bard ?"

(2) "Do they, then, claim for their countryman a stranger,

even though dead, simply because he was a poet, and shall we reject this living poet as not belonging to us, a poet who has a Roman heart and the Roman laws to recommend him ? ”

(3) “ Where among us is the mind so barbarous, where the heart so flinty as not to have been affected of late by the death of Roscius ? He died, indeed, an old man, whose art and eloquence seemed to challenge for his person immortal life. Was he, then, so generally esteemed and loved for the inimitable management of his limbs, and are we to overlook the divine enthusiasm of genius and the glowing energy of the soul ? ”—*Cicero. Pro Archia Poeta.*

FROM EQUAL TO EQUAL. (1) “ Who can censure me for spending my leisure in the pursuit of liberal studies, if others, my equals in age, in wealth, in ability, are not blamed for pursuing their own interests and the frivolous pleasures which engross the minds of so many men ? ”—*Cicero. Pro Archia.*

(2) If St. Peter was not blamed for taking a companion with him on his journeys, why should not St. Paul be suffered to do the same without incurring any censure ?

(3) If one of the judges is furnished at the expense of the State with coach and horses, why should not the rest who are on an equal footing with him be similarly favoured ?

WHAT ARE CONTRARIES ? In Rhetoric *contrasts* and *repugnants* are called contraries.

(1) CONTRAST is a means of bringing out an idea into a stronger light than it could obtain by being merely expressed in any formula of words. It consists in first stating what the thing is not, and then what it is.

“ This, my lords, is a law not adopted by custom, but inherent in our very being ; a law not perceived, nor learned, nor read in books, but one which is essential to our nature, congenital, inseparable from it ; a law to which we are not educated, but formed ; a law not derived from authority, but

existing with us as soon as we become conscious beings.”—*Cicero. Pro Milone.*

(2) REPUGNANTS. Repugnants in philosophical language mean those things which are absolute impossibilities. In Rhetoric, however, they are merely moral impossibilities, unlikelihoods, &c.

“Did Milo withhold his hand when the laws, the time, and the place insured his safety, and strike when the rashness of the deed, the unfavourableness of the circumstances, and the unsuitableness of the juncture endangered his life? Especially, my lords, as his struggle to win the highest honours that his country can bestow and the day of his election were at hand . . . when we dread not only the effect of public report, but the results of private suspicion; when we tremble at the idle rumour and the invented story; when we scrutinise the looks and the features of every man that we meet.”—*Cicero. Pro Milone.*

WHAT ARE CIRCUMSTANCES? Circumstances are the accessories of facts. These accessories precede, or accompany, or follow facts, and are, therefore, named: *antecedent, concomitant, subsequent*. All circumstances are comprised in the well-known verse: *Quis, quid, ubi, quibus auxiliis cur, quomodo, quando*.

WHO? Expresses the agent of the fact.

WHAT? The matter of it.

WHERE? The place.

BY WHAT MEANS? The implements used.

WHY? The motive, end, aim.

HOW? The manner of its execution.

WHEN? The time.

EXAMPLE: JUDAS BETRAYED CHRIST. “Who was it that perpetrated this foulest act of treachery ever committed since the world began? It was one of the chosen twelve, selected by Christ Himself, taught by Him, loved by Him,

destined by Him to be a pillar of His Church. What did he do? He betrayed the Incarnate God to His deadliest enemies; that God Who one day shall come in great power and majesty to judge the living and the dead. Where did he accomplish this crime? In that garden which resounded with the sighs of the Lord; which was sanctified by His prayer; which was fertilised by His blood. By what means did he accomplish his treachery? By the aid of the Scribes and the Pharisees who hated and envied Him; who thirsted for His blood; and by the malignity of a low rabble hounded on by their falsehoods to clamour for His death. Why did he do this deed of blood? To satisfy his vile passion of avarice which gnawed at his heart like some ravenous vulture. How did he execute it? He came as a friend, as a disciple, and as an apostle, with the sign of friendship, of love, and imprinted on His face a traitorous kiss. When was this done? On the very night on which He had washed that disciple's feet, given him His most holy Sacrament, and expressed His willingness to die for him."

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### SECTION III.

#### *Extrinsic Sources of Proofs.*

TO WHAT MAY EXTRINSIC SOURCES OF PROOFS BE REDUCED? Extrinsic sources may be reduced to one general head, namely, *authority*. Authority is twofold, *Divine* and *human*. Divine authority is found in the Sacred Scripture, and in tradition: human authority (1) in maxims generally received among men; (2) the memorable words of wise and eminent men; (3) the text of authors; (4) examples; (5) the admissions of adversaries.

At present we will treat of only the second or human authority.

(1) MAXIMS GENERALLY RECEIVED. Cicero thus uses the maxim employed in the courts: "*Cui bono fuerit: To whose advantage was it?*" "Therefore the question of Cassius, 'What could be the inducement?' is very applicable here. Though no advantage can tempt good men, very trifling considerations lead the wicked into crime. Clodius, by the death of Milo, gained this point, not only that when he became Prætor, the villainy of his conduct would be under no check from Milo as Consul, but also that he would be Prætor under the very men by whose connivance, if not by whose assistance, he still hoped that the Republic might be betrayed into his frantic projects; he further conjectured that they would not, had it been in their power, oppose his designs, since they lay under so many obligations to him, and that they could not, even if they tried, chastise the presumption of an abandoned wretch, now confirmed and hardened by long perseverance in wickedness."—*Cicero. Pro Milone.*

(2) MEMORABLE WORDS OF THE WISE. "It is an uncontrolled truth," says Swift, "that no man ever made an ill figure who understood his own talents, nor a good one who mistook them." "Every day brings with it fresh illustrations of this weighty saying; but the best commentary that we remember is the history of Samuel Crisp. . . . He seems, as far as we can judge, to have been a man eminently qualified for the useful office of a connoisseur. . . . Unhappily he set his heart on being a great poet, wrote a tragedy in five acts . . . and in the year 1754 the play was brought forward. . . . The zealous friends of the author filled every box; and by their strenuous exertions the life of the play was prolonged during ten nights. Nothing but the acting of Garrick and the partiality of the audience could have saved so feeble and unnatural a drama from instant damnation. . . . In the following year Garrick showed no disposition to bring



the amended tragedy on the stage; . . . his language was civilly evasive; but his resolution was inflexible.”—*Macaulay's Essays. Madame D'Arblay.*

(3) THE TEXT OF AUTHORS. “And the Pharisees being gathered together, Jesus asked them saying: What think you of Christ? Whose Son is He? They say to Him: David's. He saith to them: How then doth David in spirit call Him Lord, saying: The Lord said to my Lord, Sit on My right hand until I make Thy enemies Thy footstool? If David then call Him Lord, how is He his Son?” —*St. Matth. xxii. 42-45.*

(4) EXAMPLES. “No noble work of imagination as far as we can recollect was ever composed by any man, except in a dialect which he had learned without remembering how, or when, and which he had spoken with perfect ease before he had ever analysed its structure. Romans of great abilities wrote Greek verses, but how many of these verses have deserved to live? Many men of eminent genius have in modern times written Latin poems, but as far as we are aware, none of these poems, not even Milton's, can be ranked in the first class of art, or even very high in the second. It is not strange, therefore, that in the French verses of Frederic, we can see nothing beyond the reach of any man of good parts and industry, nothing above the level of Newdigate and Seatonian poetry.”—*Macaulay. Frederic the Great.*

(5) ADMISSION OF ADVERSARIES. “Lord, behold here is Thy pound which I have kept laid up in a napkin; for I feared Thee because Thou art an austere man: Thou takest up what Thou didst not lay down, and Thou reapest that which Thou didst not sow. He saith to him: Out of thy own mouth I judge thee, thou wicked servant. Thou knewest that I was an austere man, taking up what I laid not down, reaping that which I did not sow: and why then didst thou not give My money

into the bank, that at My coming I might have exacted it with usury? And He said to them that stood by: Take away the pound from him, and give it to him that hath the ten pounds."—*St. Luke* xix. 20-24.

WHAT IS TO BE THOUGHT OF THESE SOURCES OF PROOFS? If we listen to the Ancients, they are to be highly esteemed: if to the Moderns, they are to be treated with but scant courtesy. This latter view arises from an idea that any subject worked out from these sources, will prove to be *commonplace*. But that result will follow only when they are employed to develop commonplace themes. If they are used upon other subjects, they cannot fail to give any one who applies them, a clear view of the matter about which he is going to speak or to write; for they will make him *define* it and *divide* it; he will see in what way it *resembles* other subjects, and in what way it *differs* from them; he will discover both its *causes* and its *effects*. If it be some matter of fact, they will force him to familiarise himself with all the authorities which are either for or against it. They will make him examine witnesses, test evidence, investigate circumstances which have preceded, or accompanied, or followed. They will make him inquire into the nature of the fact itself, as judged by the character of him who is said to have been the author of it. In one word, they will cause him to see all round every matter of which he is to treat, and will give him a clear insight into it, so that his mind will be enlightened and filled with everything necessary to make him either speak or write eloquently and intelligently about it.

## CHAPTER IV.

### ORATORICAL MANNERS.

WHAT IS MEANT BY ORATORICAL MANNERS? Oratorical manners may be defined to be “the art of knowing how to win over and to conciliate the minds of one’s hearers by presenting one’s self to them as an upright, honourable; virtuous man”.

These manners may be *real*, or they may be only *assumed*: *real*, if they are the outcome of true virtue; *assumed*, if they are the result of hypocrisy.

IN HOW MANY WAYS MAY THESE MANNERS BE REGARDED? They may be regarded in three ways: (1), with respect to the speaker or the writer; (2), with respect to his audience; (3), with respect to his discourse.

WITH RESPECT TO THE SPEAKER. Oratorical manners require in the speaker three qualities:—

FIRST, *probity*, for otherwise his words will be of no avail. This is particularly required in the sacred orator. In the public speakers of all other kinds of oratory, people do not look for anything more than honesty of purpose. If they have not real probity, these speakers must assume at least the semblance of it.

SECONDLY, *prudence*, or that *savoir faire* which teaches him to avoid extremes, and to say neither more nor less than his subject requires.

THIRDLY, *benevolence*, or zeal for the advantage of those for whom he speaks or to whom he addresses himself.

FOURTHLY, *modesty*, which banishes from the appearance of the orator all haughtiness, all air of superiority, and carefully takes from his words anything that might wound the susceptibilities of his audience.

WITH RESPECT TO THE AUDIENCE. Oratorical manners, when considered with respect to the audience, require that the speaker should know the temper of the persons to whom he addresses himself. He should be informed as to their likings and their dislikings, their prejudices, and their way of looking at things, in order not to wound their feelings nor to run counter to any of their views.

DIFFERENCE OF AGE. In the next place, both the matter which he addresses to them, and the manner in which he presents it, should be adapted to the age of his audience. On this subject Horace gives to the playwright precepts which are equally good for the public speaker :—

“If you wish to have an enthusiastic and applauding ‘house’ that will sit out your play from the rising till the falling of the curtain, you must strongly mark the manners of every age, and assign to men’s varying dispositions a decorum befitting their years. The boy who is just able to pronounce his words, and who treads the earth with steady steps, delights to play with his fellows; is easily angered, is easily appeased, and changes with the passing hour. The beardless youth, when at last set free from his guardian’s constraining hand, puts all his joy in horses, in dogs, and in the verdure of the sunlit Campus Martius. He is soft as wax to receive the impress of vice; rough to those who would counsel him well; slow to provide what is really useful; prodigal of his money; high-spirited, amorous, and hasty in deserting the object of his passion. After this, when our inclinations change, the age and the spirit of manhood seek after wealth and friendly connections. It is subservient to points of honour; it is careful not to be guilty of

any act, the undoing of which would be afterwards a matter of difficulty.

"A man advanced in years is circled by many inconveniences, either because he is eager in the pursuit of wealth, and parsimonious in the use of it, or because he acts in a timorous, faint-hearted, dilatory manner. He is slow in hope, remiss in action, fearful of futurity. He is peevish and querulous; he praises the times that are past when he was a boy; he is severe and censorious with his juniors."—*Ars Poetica*, 153-176.

**DIFFERENCE OF CONDITION.** The public speaker must also take into account the position or condition of those to whom he addresses himself. His style and his matter must be different when he addresses an audience composed of uncultured rustics, and when he speaks before an audience composed of professional men.

**DIFFERENCE OF NATIONS.** Nationality also requires from the speaker an adaptation of his style, his matter, and his manner to suit its various tastes.

An English audience will look for a well-reasoned and calmly-delivered speech; an audience composed of Scotchmen will require more logic, and perhaps a trifle more coldness in the delivery; while an Irish or a French audience will receive with impatience the most convincing logic, unless it be dressed in figurative language and delivered with a warmth and a vigour which will breathe into it the breath of life.

**DIFFERENCE OF GOVERNMENTS.** Government has a powerful influence in forming the character of nations; hence this fact is not to be lost sight of by the orator. Under a despotic government, the people are without lofty sentiments; under an aristocratic one they are indifferent to public affairs; under a democracy, or under a government in which, as in England, there is a strong democratic element,

all their energies and noble qualities seem to find a full development. Hence the public speaker in choosing out motives of action to put before his audience, must not lose sight of the form of government which has moulded their characters.

DIFFERENCE OF CHARACTER. This also must not escape the notice of the speaker, because character is a powerful factor with which he must deal when he endeavours to persuade. One motive will influence a virtuous man, but that same motive will be utterly powerless with one who is vicious; and the reasons which would suffice to convince a calm, phlegmatic disposition, will be without weight with the ardent and impetuous.

ORATORICAL MANNERS WITH RESPECT TO THE DISCOURSE ITSELF. These are divided into what are called (1) "*Oratorical bienséances*"—(which we might render into English by our word *decency*, *decorum*)—and into what are called (2) *oratorical precautions*. The first are defined by Cicero to be: "The art both of putting in the right place and of saying at the proper time those things which have to be either said or done".

The second, or *oratorical precautions*, are defined to be: "The discretion which the orator employs, in order not to wound the susceptibilities of those to whom he speaks".

WHAT DO THE ORATORICAL *BIENSÉANCES* OR DECENCIES DEAL WITH? They deal with (1) the time and the place in which the orator speaks; (2) the person of the orator, and the persons of his audience; (3) the persons of whom he speaks.

I. THE TIME AND THE PLACE. If the *time* is one of sadness, the discourse must not be gay and lively; if it is a time of rejoicing, the discourse must not be lugubrious. The *place* also in which we speak must guide our style and manner. In a public hall we speak differently from the way in which

we speak in a church. So also must our style and manner change when we are addressing a few persons in a small room, and when we speak to a multitude gathered in a great hall.

2. THE PERSON OF THE ORATOR AND THE PERSONS OF THE AUDIENCE. The speaker must not lose sight of his age, dignity, reputation ; moreover, he must both in matter and in manner have regard to the persons to whom he addresses himself.

3. THE PERSONS OF WHOM HE SPEAKS. Whenever the orator has to speak of those who are absent, he should respect their condition, their character, their rank, their opinions. These last, he should be careful not to turn into ridicule nor to misrepresent. If they are false, or dangerous, or pernicious, he should point this out and guard his hearers against the falsehood, or the danger, or the evil that is in them.

4. ORATORICAL PRECAUTIONS. These, as we have already said, are the discreet measures which the orator takes, in order not to wound his audience by that which he says. They are to be employed in telling unpleasant truths ; in combating popular prejudices ; in speaking to any audience which we know to be hostile to us.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE PASSIONS.

*Means to Move or Touch the Audience.*

WHAT IS MEANT BY PATHOS OR PASSION? By pathos or passion, we mean the faculty or power of being ourselves deeply moved, and of communicating our emotion to others. As these emotions or passions have a great influence upon men's judgments, and often blind them to the truth, the necessity for employing them only for a righteous end is self-evident.

GIVE A DEFINITION OF PASSION. Aristotle in his treatise on Rhetoric thus defines passion: "Passion is an affection<sup>1</sup> of the soul, which affection brings about some change in our judgment, and which is followed by pleasure or by pain. Such, for instance, are anger, pity, fear."

TO WHAT SOURCES HAVE PHILOSOPHERS TRACED ALL THE PASSIONS? To two sources, namely, to *love* and to *hatred*. Rigorously speaking, *hatred* may be traced to love; for it is an indirect effect of love, inasmuch as we hate anything only because of the love which we have for that to which it is opposed.

SHOULD THE ORATOR STUDY THE PASSIONS? The orator should make a deep study of the passions, even though they all issue from one source. For, though they may have a common origin, yet the *motives* by which they are stirred

<sup>1</sup> *Affection* here does not mean *love*, but the result of some cause which has acted upon the soul.



are different. These motives he must know, and be able to use as so many levers to move his audience to act. The best book from which to study the passions, is one's own heart.

WHAT QUALITIES MUST THE ORATOR HAVE, IN ORDER TO BE ABLE TO ACT UPON THE PASSIONS ?

1. SENSIBILITY. In order to act upon the passions, the orator must have *sensibility* or that disposition of heart by which we easily receive various impressions. Horace regards this as the foundation of all pathos. "If you would have me weep, you yourself must first be filled with grief."<sup>1</sup>

2. IMAGINATION. Besides having sensibility, he must also have the power of communicating to others that which he feels. To do this is the office of the *imagination*, which paints before the eyes of others glowing pictures of those things which we have either seen, or upon which we have thought.

Thus, Cardinal Newman, in his sermon entitled *The Second Spring* :—

"I see a bleak mount, looking upon an open country, over against that huge town, to whose inhabitants Catholicism is of so little account. I see the ground marked out and an ample enclosure made ; and plantations are rising there, clothing and circling in the space. And there on that high spot, far from the haunts of men, yet in the very centre of the island, a large edifice, or rather pile of edifices, appears, with many fronts and courts, and long cloisters and corridors, and story upon story. And there it rises, under the invocation of the same sweet and powerful name which has been our strength and consolation in the valley. I look more attentively at that building, and I see it is fashioned upon that ancient style of art which brings back the past,

<sup>1</sup> *Ars Poetica*, 102.

which had seemed to be perishing from off the face of the earth, or to be preserved only as a curiosity, or to be imitated only as a fancy. I listen and I hear the sound of voices, grave and musical, renewing the old chant, with which Augustine greeted Ethelbert in the free air upon the Kentish strand. It comes from a long procession, and it winds along the cloisters. Priests and religious, theologians from the schools, and canons from the cathedral walk in due precedence. And then there comes a vision of well nigh twelve mitred heads; and last I see a prince of the Church, in the royal dye of empire and of martyrdom, a pledge to us from Rome of Rome's unwearied love, a token that that goodly company is firm in Apostolic faith and hope."

3. DISCERNMENT. This is the faculty or power of looking at all subjects from their true point of view, and of discovering in them that which is suitable for our purpose and that which is not. Discernment first examines the *nature of the subject* on which the orator is about to speak, and sees whether it is capable of being treated in the pathetic style or not. Secondly, it considers the *character of the audience* before which he is to speak. The knowledge of their tastes, their genius, and their ways of looking at things, will make him understand whether the pathetic style will be appreciated by them, and be serviceable to move their hearts, or will not, but be rather to them a subject of disgust and of ridicule. Thirdly, it guides the orator in his *use of the pathetic*. For this may be employed in two ways—*directly*, when he expresses the sentiments which he feels; *indirectly*, when without himself appearing to be moved, he narrates facts which stir men's hearts to their lowest depths.

IN HOW MANY WAYS DOES THE ORATOR ACT UPON THE PASSIONS? The orator acts upon the passions in two ways: by exciting them, and by calming them. The chief

passions which he excites are love, hatred, anger, indignation, pity, hope, joy, fear.

BY WHAT MEANS DOES HE EXCITE EACH OF THESE PASSIONS? LOVE. By upholding the interests of those before whom he speaks; by defending them as upright men, or as men who are useful and devoted to the judges; by taking the side of virtue.

HATRED AND ANGER. By showing to his audience that the persons or the things against which he wishes to excite their hatred and their anger, are either useless or pernicious to them. The Christian orator must never stir up his hearers to hate the persons of whom he speaks. Only their vices should be the objects of his invective.

INDIGNATION. As this passion is anger mingled with contempt and disgust, the means employed to excite anger will serve to stir up this passion also.

PITY. This passion is excited by painting before the minds of the audience a picture of the misfortunes and the sorrows which have befallen some worthy man, particularly if these misfortunes and these sorrows are such as may befall each of the hearers.

HOPE is excited by the prospect of some good which is within reach, or which it is possible to obtain.

JOY is made to spring up in the heart when there is painted before the mind a picture of some success or of some triumph in which the audience feel a great interest.

FEAR is excited in the soul by a picture of dangers which are likely to affect the audience, no matter whether those dangers are personal or only dangers that affect the State.

HOW DOES THE ORATOR CALM THE PASSIONS? His first care should be to discover the sophisms by which the minds of the audience have been led away and their passions excited. In the next place he should examine the dispositions of heart, in which these sophisms have their

source. For instance, he should try to discover whether self-love, or pride has seduced them; whether they have yielded to a private interest, or to fear; to a false hope, or to the pleasures of sense. Having found the motives which have acted upon their wills and stirred up their passions, he must, for the time being, enter into their sentiments, in order to change them, and point out to them the deceitful reasoning by which they have been cheated. Their illusions must be made manifest to them, and they themselves forced to abandon them. If, as at the Bar, the opposing Counsel has by means of oratorical movements, stirred the passions of the jury, the best way to appease the commotion is to calmly show them all that is false and exaggerated in his speech, and step by step to demolish the defence which he has made. Then the orator may, in his turn, give himself up to oratorical movements which will fire the minds of his hearers.

Oftentimes one of the best methods for destroying the effect produced by an adversary's speech, is to use pleasantry. This should never degenerate into buffoonery, but should be kept within the bounds of that strict decorum which respects the rights of friendship, and the rank of the persons against whom we speak.

## CHAPTER VI.

### DISPOSITION OR ARRANGEMENT.

#### SECTION I.

#### *The Exordium and its Qualities.*

WHAT IS DISPOSITION OR ARRANGEMENT ? Disposition is that part of Rhetoric which teaches the orator to arrange in due order the matter discovered by invention. Nature itself, or that natural logic which is the heritage of most men, points out to the public speaker the lines on which he is to proceed. He must first introduce his subject to his audience ; then state the particular view which he is going to consider ; divide his thesis or view into several parts, if it needs division ; and then narrate the circumstances of the case from which that thesis has sprung. Next come the proofs by which he supports the view which he has taken ; then a refutation of the opinions or the proofs hostile to that view ; finally, a conclusion.

WHAT ARE THE NAMES OF THESE VARIOUS PARTS OF A DISCOURSE ? They are called (1) the Exordium or Introduction ; (2) the Proposition or Statement of the Thesis ; (3) the Division or portioning out of the Thesis into its various points ; (4) the Narration or Statement of the Case ; (5) the Confirmation or proving of it ; (6) the Refutation ; (7) the Peroration or Conclusion.

It is not necessary that in every discourse there should be these seven parts, but every discourse should have an exordium, a proposition, a confirmation, and a peroration.

**WHAT IS THE EXORDIUM?** The exordium is the introduction to the discourse; its end or object is to make the audience well disposed towards the speaker, or attentive to that which he is going to say, or docile to the advice which he is going to give. Sometimes all three ends are the object of the exordium.

**WHAT ARE THE QUALITIES WHICH THE EXORDIUM OUGHT TO HAVE?** To obtain the ends for which the exordium is intended, it ought to be easy and natural, correct in style, modest, calm; lastly, it ought not to anticipate any other part of the discourse, and should be in proportion to the length of the discourse.

1. **EASY AND NATURAL.** It must spring from the discourse as a flower springs from its stem; and must not be fastened to it like some strange material, different in colour and in texture.

2. **CORRECT IN STYLE.** Because in the beginning of every discourse the audience are in a critical humour, attend to the style and manner of the speaker, and are impressed by these either in his favour or to his prejudice.

3. **MODEST.** There must be in the exordium a total absence of all arrogance, ostentation, pride, and vanity. The manifestation of any of these hateful qualities makes a very unfavourable impression on the audience, and causes them to be hostile to the speaker.

4. **CALM.** It is rare that any passion, any vehemence, is shown in the exordium. The minds of the audience must be prepared for these manifestations of feeling; and only when the hearts of the hearers have already been stirred by some untoward event, and thus prepared for vehement, passionate language, can the orator venture, in the beginning of his address, to be anything but calm.

5. **NOT ANTICIPATING ANY OTHER PART.** Because all such anticipation deprives the thoughts which are once again

presented, of the novelty which would make them interesting to the audience.

6. IN PROPORTION TO THE DISCOURSE. The exordium ought, both in its length and in its style, to be adapted to the discourse. In length, it ought to be about one-eighth of the whole discourse; in style, it should be in keeping with the nature of the matter of which we are going to treat.

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SECTION II.

*The Exordium : Its Different Kinds.*

HOW MANY KINDS OF EXORDIUMS ARE THERE ? There are four kinds of exordiums. These are called respectively, the simple, the insinuating, the lofty or pompous, and the vehement or "*ex abrupto*" exordium.

WHAT IS THE SIMPLE EXORDIUM ? The simple exordium is a brief, clear, and artless explanation of the subject, about which one is going to treat. It is employed when the case in point is not of any importance, or when there are no prejudices to be combated, or when one is about to address those who are already prepared to hear favourably.

EXAMPLES : (1) "Athenians ! Had we been convened upon some new subject of debate, I should have waited until most of the usual speakers had made known their opinions. If I had approved of anything proposed by them, I should have remained silent ; if I had not, I should then have attempted to speak my sentiments. But since those very points upon which these men have been already oftentimes heard are at this time also to be considered, though I have arisen first, I presume that I may expect your pardon ; for, if, on former occasions, they had given you suitable advice, you would not, at present, have found it necessary to deliberate anew."—*Demosthenes. First Philippic.*

(2) "In my opinion, Athenians! the gods have in many instances manifestly declared their favour towards this State; nor is that favour least observable in this present juncture. For, that there should arise against Philip, and on the very confines of his kingdom, an enemy of no inconsiderable power, and (that which is a circumstance of very great importance) so determined upon war as to consider any accommodation with him, first as insidious, and next as the downfall of their country, this circumstance, I say, seems to me to be nothing else than the gracious interposition of heaven itself on our behalf. Therefore, O Athenians! we must take care not to cause this interposition to be of no avail. For we shall disgrace ourselves, nay, we shall render ourselves infamous, if we appear to have thrown away not only those States and those territories which once we commanded, but also those alliances and those favourable incidents which fortune has provided for us."—*Demosthenes. Third Olynthiac.*

(3) "A few words upon the material out of which the best subjects for meditation may be fashioned will not be out of place here, especially as I shall have to speak a little later on upon the method in which the faculties of the mind must be employed in working it, so as to make it most valuable for the purchase of spiritual sustenance for the soul."—*Introduction to An Instruction on Meditation.*

WHAT IS THE INSINUATING EXORDIUM? The insinuating exordium, as its name implies, is an introduction to a discourse, made by a speaker for the purpose of imperceptibly winning for himself the affection and the good-will of his audience. It is made use of when that audience is not well disposed either to himself or to his subject; when he has errors to combat; prejudices to undo; and the powerful arguments of an adversary to refute.

EXAMPLES: (1) "Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all



things you are too superstitious. For passing by and seeing your idols, I found an altar also on which was written : To the unknown God. What therefore you worship without knowing it, that I preach to you.”—*Acts* xvii. 22, 23.

(2) “ I think myself happy, O king Agrippa, that I am to answer for myself this day before thee, touching all the things whereof I am accused by the Jews, especially as thou knowest all, both customs and questions that are among the Jews ; wherefore I beseech thee to hear me patiently.”—*Acts* xxvi. 2, 3.

(3) “ I should be much for open war, O peers !  
 As not behind in hate, if what was urged  
 Main reason to persuade immediate war,  
 Did not dissuade me most, and seem to cast  
 Ominous conjecture on the whole success ;  
 When he who most excels in fact of arms,  
 In what he counsels and in what excels  
 Mistrustful, grounds his courage on despair  
 And utter dissolution, as the scope  
 Of all his aim, after some dire revenge.”

—*Milton. Paradise Lost*, Bk. ii.

(4) “ Friends, Romans, countrymen, lend me your ears ;  
 I come to bury Cæsar, not to praise him.  
 The evil that men do lives after them ;  
 The good is oft interred with their bones ;  
 So let it be with Cæsar. The noble Brutus  
 Hath told you Cæsar was ambitious :  
 If it were so, it was a grievous fault  
 And grievously hath Cæsar answered it.  
 Here, under leave of Brutus, and the rest  
 (For Brutus is an honourable man,  
 So are they all honourable men) ;  
 Come I to speak in Cæsar’s funeral.”

—*Cæsar*, Act iii. sc. 2.

(5) "My Lords! If I have any ability—and I am sensible it is but small—if by pleading often I have acquired any merit as a speaker, if I have derived any knowledge from the study of the liberal arts which have ever been my delight, A. Licinius may justly claim the fruit of all. For, as I look back upon the past, and call to mind the earliest period of my life, I find that it was he that first prompted me to engage in a course of study, and directed me in the pursuit of it. If my tongue, then moulded and animated by him, has been the means of saving any, surely by all the ties of gratitude I am bound to employ it in defence of him who has taught it to assist and defend others. Now, though his genius and course of study are very different from mine, let no one be surprised at that which I advance; for I have not devoted all my time to the study of eloquence, and besides, all the liberal arts are closely allied to one another, and have, as it were, one common bond of union. But lest it should appear strange, that in a legal proceeding and a public cause, before an excellent Prætor, judges the most impartial, and an assembly so densely packed, I lay aside the usual style of procedure and introduce one very different from that of the Bar, I must beg your kind indulgence for the liberty I have taken, a liberty which I hope will not be disagreeable to you, a liberty which seems to be due to the defendant, that while pleading for an excellent poet and a man of great erudition, before so learned an audience, before patrons so distinguished of the liberal arts, and before a Prætor so eminent, you would allow me to enlarge somewhat upon learning and upon liberal studies; to employ an almost unprecedented language for one who, by reason of a studious and inactive life, has been little conversant with dangers and with public trials."—*Cicero. Pro Archia.*

(6) "My Lords! Though I fear that when entering upon the defence of so brave a man, it may seem unmanly to show

any sign of timidity, or to be unable to support my pleading with a dignity of courage equal to that of Titus Annius Milo, who is more concerned for the safety of the State than for his own; yet I must confess that the unusual manner in which this new kind of trial is conducted, strikes me with a kind of terror, while I in vain look around for the ancient usages of the Forum and the forms that have been hitherto observed in our courts of justice. Your bench is not surrounded by the usual circle, nor is the crowd made up of the same elements that used to throng around us. For those guards whom you see stationed before all the temples, though intended to prevent violence, yet strike the pleader with terror; so that even in the Forum, and during a trial, though surrounded by guards who are at once protective and necessary, we cannot be devoid of fear, without some fear, that is to say, the very means adopted to allay our fears inspires us with apprehension. Now, if I thought that these measures had been taken in order to show opposition to Milo, I would give way to the exigencies of the time, and conclude that in the midst of such an armed force there is no room for pleading. But the prudence of Pompey, a man distinguished alike for his wisdom and his equity, both cheers and relieves me; for his justice will never suffer him to leave exposed to the rage of the soldiery, a man whom he has delivered up to be tried by the course of law; nor his wisdom give the sanction of public authority to the outrages of a furious mob. Therefore, those arms, those centurions, those cohorts are so far from threatening me with danger, that they assure me of protection; they not only banish my fears, but inspire me with confidence; they promise that I shall be heard, not merely with safety, but with silence and attention. As to the rest of the assembly, those of them at least that are Roman citizens are all on our side; nor is there a single person of all that multitude of

spectators whom you see on all sides of us, as far as any part of the Forum can be discerned, waiting the event of the trial, who, while he favours Milo, does not think that his own fate, the fate of his posterity, his country, and his property is now trembling in the balance.”—*Cicero. Pro Milone.*

WHAT IS THE LOFTY OR POMPOUS EXORDIUM? It is an exordium that is used to introduce some great subject, upon some great occasion, and consequently its style must be rich and adorned with all the wealth of eloquence. It is employed chiefly in panegyrics, funeral orations, academical discourses, and the like.

EXAMPLE: (1) “By the special love of the immortal gods towards you, O Romans! by the labours which I have undergone for you, by the counsels which I have devised, by the dangers which I have encountered, you this day behold the Commonwealth, your lives, your property, your fortunes, your wives, your children, the august seat of this renowned empire, this fair and flourishing city, you behold it, I say, preserved and restored to you, rescued from fire and sword, from the very jaws of fate. Now, if the days on which we are saved from destruction are no less joyous than is the day of our birth, because the pleasure arising from deliverance is certain, but the tenure of life uncertain, precarious; because we unconsciously enter upon life, but are always sensible to the joys of preservation; surely since our gratitude and esteem for Romulus, the founder of this city, have moved us to rank him among the immortal gods, that man cannot fail to merit honour from you and your posterity, who has preserved this same city with all its accession of strength and grandeur.”—*Cicero. III. Catil. Oration.*

(2) “Ye men of Athens! I pray to all the powers of heaven that during this present trial you may manifest to me the same affection that I have ever invariably shown to this

State and to all its citizens. In the next place, I pray for that which very nearly concerns each of you, and essentially touches your religion and your honour, namely, that the gods may so dispose your minds as to allow me to draw up my defence, not upon the lines traced out for me by my adversary—for that would be a hard step indeed, but in accordance with the provisions made by the laws, and by your oath, in which, in addition to all the other equitable clauses we find also this expressly added: ‘Each party shall have an equal hearing’. This phrase implies not only that you will not prejudge the case, not only that you will show the same impartiality to both, but that you will leave to each of the contending parties full liberty to arrange and to conduct his pleading, according as either his choice or his judgment may determine.”—*Demosthenes. On the Crown.*

WHAT IS THE VEHEMENT OR “EX ABRUPTO” EXORDIUM? It is an exordium in which the speaker straightway enters upon the subject, catching up at once the disposition in which he finds his audience, and both in tone and in language putting himself in accord with their sentiments.

EXAMPLES:—

- (1) “My sentence is for open war. Of wiles  
More inexpert, I boast not: them let those  
Contrive who need, or when they need, not now.  
For, while they sit contriving, shall the rest,  
Millions that stand in arms and longing wait  
The signal to ascend, sit lingering here  
Heaven’s fugitives, and for their dwelling-place  
Accept this dark opprobrious den of shame,  
The prison of his tyranny who reigns  
By our delay!”

—*Milton. Paradise Lost, Bk. ii.*

- (2) “How far, Catiline, wilt thou abuse our patience?”

How long shall thy frantic rage baffle the efforts of justice? To what height dost thou mean to carry thy daring insolence? Art thou nothing daunted by the nocturnal watch posted to secure the Palatine? nothing by the city guards? nothing by the consternation of the people? nothing by the union of all the wise and worthy citizens? nothing by the Senate's assembling in this place of strength? nothing by the looks and the countenances of all here present? Seest thou not that all thy designs are brought to light? that the Senators are thoroughly apprised of thy conspiracy? that they are acquainted with thy last night's practices; with the practices of the night before; with the place of meeting, the company summoned together, and the measures concerted? Alas for our degeneracy! alas for the depravity of the times! The Senate is cognisant of all this; the Consul beholds it, yet the traitor lives! Lives! did I say? He comes even into the Senate; he shares in the public deliberations; with his eye he marks out each of us for destruction!"—*Cicero. I. Catil. Oration.*

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### SECTION III.

#### *How to Compose the Exordium : Its Sources.*

WHAT ARE THE SOURCES WHENCE THE EXORDIUM MAY BE TAKEN? The sources whence the exordium may be taken are five in number: (1) the person of the speaker; (2) the person of his opponent; (3) the dispositions of the audience; (4) local circumstances; (5) the subject itself.

From whatever source the exordium is taken, it is always best to compose it when the whole subject has been thoroughly thought out; the reason is, that it will then comply with one of the conditions for a good exordium, a condition required by Cicero: "It will spring from the subject as a flower springs from its stem".

1. THE PERSON OF THE SPEAKER. When the exordium is drawn from this source, the speaker must be careful to show great modesty and reserve; yet while expressing diffidence in himself, he must show none with respect to his cause.

EXAMPLES : Cicero, *Pro Archia*.

Demosthenes, *De Coronâ*.

(1) "Occupying the post I now do, I feel something like a Counsel for the plaintiff, with nobody on the other side; but even if I had been placed in that position ninety times nine, it would still be my duty to state a few facts from the very short brief with which I have been provided."—C. Dickens. *Speeches*, chap. ix.

2. THE PERSON OF HIS ADVERSARY. The exordium taken from this source requires great care on the part of the speaker. He must, as far as possible, avoid wounding his opponent; but he may be as severe as he pleases with his arguments, or with his method of reasoning. The Ancients did not spare the persons of their adversaries; and the Moderns but too often imitate them, without however going beyond the bounds of what is called "parliamentary language".

EXAMPLE : "The atrocious crime of being a young man, which the honourable gentleman has, with such spirit and decency, charged upon me, I shall attempt neither to palliate nor to deny; but content myself with wishing that I may be one of those whose follies may cease with their youth, and not of those who continue ignorant in spite of age and experience".—*Pitt's Reply to Mr. Walpole*.

3. THE DISPOSITIONS OF THE AUDIENCE. When the exordium is drawn from this source, it may be made by referring, in a few complimentary words, to their learning, their influence, their probity, their public spirit, or to any

other quality, or to any other virtue by which they are distinguished.

EXAMPLE : " Gentlemen of the Jury,—I deem myself most fortunate in being called upon to defend my client in circumstances which are so unexceptionably favourable that they must needs lead to the victory of his cause. I have for my judge one whose well-known impartiality profound legal knowledge, and scrupulous attention to every case submitted to his decision, are matters of European reputation. Furthermore, I have the good fortune of having to lay the history of his wrongs before a body of men whose intellectual culture, whose habits of thought, and whose mature age admirably fit them to weigh the arguments which I shall bring forward, and to award to him that measure of justice which I claim as his due."

4. THE SUBJECT ITSELF. In order to make an exordium which is drawn from the subject itself, the speaker must raise some question which he will treat upon the level of a general question, supporting himself upon one of those great principles to which appeal is never made in vain. It must, in order to have this power, be one of those principles which are written in the hearts of all men.

EXAMPLE : " We have familiar experience of the order, the constancy, the perpetual renovation of the material world which surrounds us. Frail and transitory as is every part of it, restless and migratory as are its elements, never-ceasing as are its changes, still it abides. It is bound together by a law of permanence, it is set up in unity, and though it is ever dying, it is ever coming to life again. Dissolution does but give birth to fresh modes of organisation, and one death is the parent of a thousand lives. Each hour as it comes is but a testimony how fleeting, yet how secure, how certain is the great whole."—*Cardinal Newman. Second Spring.*



5. LOCAL CIRCUMSTANCES. This exordium is drawn from the local circumstances in which the speaker finds himself, whether these circumstances are those of time or of place.

EXAMPLES: (1) "It has of late years become noticeable in England, that the autumn season produces an immense amount of public speaking. I notice that no sooner do the leaves begin to fall from the trees, than pearls of great price begin to fall from the lips of the wise men of the east, and north, and west, and south, and anybody may have them by the bushel for the picking up. Now whether the comet has this year had a quickening influence upon this crop, as it is by some supposed to have had upon the corn harvest and the vintage, I do not know; but I do know that I have never observed the columns of the newspapers to groan so heavily under a pressure of orations, each vying with the other in the two qualities of having little or nothing to do with the matter in hand, and of being always addressed to any audience in the wide world rather than to the audience to which it was delivered."—*C. Dickens. Manchester, 1858.*

(2) "Ladies and Gentlemen,—My gracious and generous welcome in America, a welcome which can never be obliterated from my remembrance, began here. My departure too, begins here; for I assure you that I have never until this moment felt that I am going away. In this brief life of ours, it is sad to do almost anything for the last time, and I cannot conceal from you, although my face will so soon be turned towards my native land, and to all that makes it dear, that it is a sad consideration with me that, in a very few moments from this time, this brilliant hall and all that it contains will fade from my view—for evermore."—*C. Dickens at Boston, 1862.*

## SECTION IV.

*Defects of the Exordium.*

WHAT ARE THE DEFECTS OF THE EXORDIUM? An exordium is defective or faulty when it is commonplace, common to both parties—in the sense of *communis*, commutable, too long, foreign to the subject, misplaced, and productive of an effect contrary to that which is intended.

COMMONPLACE. An exordium is said to be commonplace, when it may with ease be applied indifferently to many causes, to many subjects.

COMMON (*Communis*). An exordium is common, when either of the parties engaged in a discussion might suitably employ it for his own case.

COMMUTABLE. An exordium is commutable, when with a few slight changes it may easily be turned against the opposing party.

TOO LONG. An exordium is too long, when it contains more words and phrases than are necessary to introduce the subject.

FOREIGN TO THE SUBJECT. An exordium is foreign to the subject, when it does not grow out of the cause or subject, and is not, so to speak, a *limb* or *member* of the discourse, but a kind of excrescence.

MISPLACED. An exordium is misplaced, when it does not conduce to the end proposed.

PRODUCTIVE OF AN EFFECT CONTRARY TO THAT WHICH IS INTENDED. An exordium has this defect, when the effect produced is different from that which the cause or subject demanded.

## CHAPTER VII.

### PROPOSITION, DIVISION, AND NARRATION.

#### SECTION I.

#### *Proposition.*

WHAT IS THE PROPOSITION? The proposition is that portion of the discourse which follows immediately after the exordium, and may be defined to be: "A clear and brief statement of the subject of which the speaker is going to treat". At the Bar, it constitutes the point contested by the opposing parties; in the pulpit, it determines the question of dogma or of morality about which the preacher is going to speak; in Parliament, it fixes the matter which is to be the subject of debate, and also the standpoint from which that subject is to be viewed.

WHAT QUALITIES SHOULD CHARACTERISE THE PROPOSITION? The proposition should be characterised by clearness, brevity, simplicity, and the absence of affectation.

HOW MANY KINDS OF PROPOSITIONS ARE THERE? There are two kinds of propositions, the simple and the compound. The simple proposition contains only one object to prove; the compound contains several.

SIMPLE PROPOSITIONS. (1) "What therefore you worship without knowing it, that I preach to you."—*Acts* xvii. 23.

(2) "Well, honour is the subject of my story."—*Cæsar*, Act i. sc. 2.

(3) "But if it should appear more clear than the day that Clodius did really lie in wait for Milo, then I must beseech

and adjure you, my Lords! that if we have lost everything else, we may at least be allowed, without fear of consequences, to defend our lives against the daring attempts and the murderous weapons of our enemies."—*Cicero. Pro Milone.*

COMPOUND PROPOSITION. "If this, my Lords! be granted to me, I will prove that Aulus Licinius, as he is already a citizen, not only ought not to be deprived of his privileges, but ought to be admitted to that high distinction if he was not already in possession of it."—*Cicero. Pro Archia.*

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## SECTION II.

### *Division.*

WHAT IS DIVISION? Division is that part of the discourse which follows immediately after the proposition, and points out to the audience, the various ways in which the speaker is going to establish the truth which he has enunciated in the proposition.

EXAMPLES: I. "Let it be remembered that your fellow-citizens have now entrusted to your hands their State and their liberties. Some of them are here present, awaiting the issue of this trial; others are absent, busied about their private affairs. To both these show a due meed of reverence. Remember both your oaths and your laws; and if we convict Ctesiphon of having proposed decrees (1) illegal, (2) false, (3) and detrimental to the State, reverse these illegal decrees, assert the freedom of your Constitution, and punish those who, in opposition to your laws, in contempt of your Constitution, and in total disregard of your interest, have administered your public affairs. If with these sentiments impressed upon your minds, you attend to what is now proposed, you must, I am convinced, proceed

to a just and religious decision, a decision of the utmost advantage to yourselves and to the State.”—*Æschines against Ctesiphon*.

2. “In the first place, I think, I have reason to congratulate myself upon this circumstance more than upon any other, that in this mode of address, unusual as it is to me from this place, there has been presented to me a cause which would make eloquent even an unpractised tongue. For I am called upon to speak of the peculiar and extraordinary talents of Cneius Pompey, a theme so inspiring that the difficulty is to know where to stop, rather than where to begin. Hence my chief concern at present is not to search for materials, but to put in a suitable order the materials which are at hand.”—*Cicero. Pro Lege Manilia*.

3. “Why is it that the Son of God is not satisfied with once giving peace to His Apostles, but during the same apparition twice over repeats the salutation ‘Pax Vobis’—Peace be to you! This is a circumstance which, in the Gospel narrative, did not escape the notice of St. John Chrysostom; and this circumstance is not without its hidden, mysterious meaning. It is this mysterious meaning that I am now going to explain to you.”—*Bourdalone on the words “Pax Vobis”*.

4. “The death of Our Saviour contains three circumstances which help to explain the mystery of that great sacrifice, the spectacle of which is this day renewed by the Church, and its memory dutifully honoured: a consummation of justice on the part of the Father; a consummation of malice on the part of mankind; a consummation of love on the part of Christ. These three truths shall divide this discourse and the history of the ignominies of the Man God. We shall find therein solid instruction, and truths which the world knows not, because it knows not Jesus Christ; and we shall see that the Cross is the condemnation

of the sinner, and the crowning of his ingratitude.”—*Masillon on “Consummatum est”*.

WHAT ARE THE QUALITIES OF DIVISION? The qualities of division are: that it should be complete, distinct, progressive, concise, simple, and natural.

(1) COMPLETE. A division is complete, when it embraces the whole extent of the subject divided.

(2) DISTINCT. A division is distinct, when the several members of which it is composed are completely separated from one another, so that the thought contained in one member is not the thought contained in the other, only expressed in different terms.

(3) PROGRESSIVE. A division is progressive, when the first member is, as it were, a step to the second; the second to the third, and so on.

(4) CONCISE. A division is concise, if, avoiding all circumlocution, it is expressed in the fewest words possible.

(5) SIMPLE. A division is simple, when from it there is excluded that multiplicity of subdivisions which was the fashion in former times.

(6) NATURAL. A division is natural, when it avoids all playing upon words, and all those studied antitheses in which some preachers used to take delight.

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### SECTION III.

#### *Of the Use to be Made of Divisions.*

DOES EVERY SUBJECT REQUIRE DIVISIONS? No; oftentimes it would be even ridiculous to make use of division. If the speaker has but one thought to develop, and that thought naturally in itself one, it would be doing to it a sort of violence to portion it out into several parts, and would crush out of it whatever force and interest it might possess.

WHAT ARE THE ADVANTAGES OF DIVISION ? The advantages of division are that it excites attention, assists the audience to understand and remember the subject discussed, and by indicating to them the progress which the speaker is making in his thesis, relieves them of any fatigue which they may experience.

DID THE ANCIENTS USE DIVISIONS ? The Ancients seldom used divisions ; nevertheless there are some of their speeches in which these divisions are to be found.

DID THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH USE THEM ? The Fathers of the Church rarely used divisions. Their method of instruction did not lead them to this practice. They used first to explain the text of the Sacred Scripture, and then applied it to the necessities of their hearers. But when they treated of some point of dogma or of morality, they made very orderly discourses, without, however, dividing into distinct categories that which they had to say.

DOES FÉNÉLON CONDEMN DIVISIONS ? No ; in his " Dialogues on Eloquence " the passages which appear to reprobate divisions, merely protest against the arbitrary practice of his day, a practice which seemed to require as an essential feature, the presence in every discourse of a division containing at least three points. It was the *abuse* rather than the *use* of divisions against which he raised his voice.

IS THE DIVISION EVER CONCEALED ? The division is sometimes concealed : (1) when the statement of it would displease the audience by making them anticipate a lengthy discourse ; (2) when some parts of an oration at first seem useless ; (3) when the announcement would interfere with some oratorical artifice.

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#### SECTION IV.

##### *Narration.*

WHAT IS THE NARRATION ? The narration is that part of

a discourse or speech, following immediately after the division, and giving a full statement of the facts of the case which the orator is going either to defend or to attack. It is used chiefly in legal cases.

WHAT ARE THE QUALITIES WHICH IT OUGHT TO HAVE ? The narration ought to have five qualities : brevity, clearness, likelihood, interest, and conviction.

1. BREVITY. A narration is brief, when it does not go farther back, nor extend itself beyond the limits required by the case ; when it avoids all superfluous details ; when it admits no digressions ; when it leaves much to be understood ; and omits nothing that is essential.

2. CLEARNESS. A narration is clear, when it adheres to the order of time and of events.

3. LIKELIHOOD. A narration has in it likelihood or is likely, when in all its details it has the characteristics of truth ; when it shows the cause of events ; when it makes evident that the acts performed are such as might be expected from the character of the persons who performed them ; that these persons had the ability to do them ; that the time for their execution was favourable ; the place admirably adapted ; that the acts themselves do not belie the well-known dispositions of the persons spoken of, the public opinion prevalent concerning them, and the opinion of them entertained by the audience.

4. INTERESTING. A narration is interesting, when it is able to fix the attention of the audience by the loftiness of its ideas, and the pathos of its sentiments ; and when it charms them by the gracefulness and pleasing nature of its details.

5. CONVINCING OR DEMONSTRATIVE. A narration is convincing or demonstrative, when it establishes the thesis which the speaker proposes to himself as the object to be proved ; when it contains in itself the germs of all the arguments



which he is going to employ for this purpose ; when the circumstances introduced into it lead the audience to draw conclusions favourable to the side upheld by him.

EXAMPLE : The following narration contains all the above-mentioned qualities :—

“ In the meantime as soon as Clodius knew—and it was not a matter of great difficulty to know—that by the eighteenth of January, Milo was obliged to be at Lanuvium, of which he was dictator, in order to nominate a priest—a duty which the laws rendered it necessary to perform every year, he (Clodius) suddenly left Rome on the seventeenth, in order, as the sequel clearly proved, to waylay Milo in his own grounds ; and this departure of his took place at a time when he was obliged to leave a tumultuous assembly summoned by him on that very day, an assembly in which his presence was requisite to carry on his mad designs ; never would he have left it unless he had been eager to take advantage of that particular time and place for perpetrating his criminal purpose.

“ But Milo, after remaining in the Senate till the House was on that day broken up, went home, changed his shoes and his clothes, waited a while, as usual, till his wife was in readiness to accompany him, and then set out about the very time at which Clodius might have returned, had he purposed on that day to come back to Rome.

“ Clodius meets him, equipped for an engagement, seated on horseback, unhampered by chariot or by baggage, without his Grecian servants, and, a circumstance that is even more extraordinary still, unaccompanied by his wife. While Milo, this would-be murderer, who had purposely contrived the journey in order to assassinate Clodius, was in his chariot, seated by the side of his wife, muffled up in his cloak, encumbered with a retinue of servants, and with a feeble and timorous train of women and boys.

“A little before sunset, he meets Clodius before Clodius’ own estate, and is immediately attacked by a body of men who from an eminence throw their darts at him and kill his charioteer. Thereupon, casting aside his cloak and leaping from his chariot, he with great bravery defended himself. In the meantime the attendants of Clodius, drawing their swords, ran back to the chariot, some to attack Milo from the rear, others, thinking that he was already killed, to fall upon his servants who were behind. These, however, being resolute and faithful to their master, were, some of them, slain, while the rest, seeing that a sharp conflict was raging round the chariot, and being prevented from going to their master’s assistance, hearing moreover from the lips of Clodius himself that Milo had been killed, and believing the fact to be as he had stated, acted upon this occasion—I say it not with a view to escape the accusation, but because such is the plain, unvarnished truth—without his orders, without his knowledge, without his presence, they acted, I say, as every man would wish his servants to act in similar circumstances.”

—*Cicero. Pro Milone.*

## CHAPTER VIII.

### CONFIRMATION.

WHAT IS THE CONFIRMATION? In a discourse, the confirmation is that part, the end or object of which is to develop the subject. The exordium introduces that subject; the proposition sets it before the audience; the division points out the different aspects under which the speaker is going to consider it. Hence, these are but preludes to the confirmation, which constitutes the body of the discourse, its most important, its essential part.

BY WHAT MEANS IS ANY THESIS OR STATEMENT CONFIRMED? Any thesis or statement is confirmed or established by *proofs*. With respect to them, we have three things to consider: (1) their choice or selection; (2) the order in which they are to be employed; (3) the connections or links by which they must be united with one another.

WHAT KIND OF PROOFS SHOULD THE SPEAKER CHOOSE? The speaker should choose only those proofs which are absolute, that is to say, which cut the question clear from all doubt, and leave no room for reply. He should not use a multiplicity of proofs, but a few solid ones. He should carefully avoid employing those which have in them a weak point; for this may be laid hold of by his adversary.

HOW IS HE TO ESTIMATE THE VALUE OF PROOFS? He must estimate the value of proofs, not from their *intrinsic* worth, but from their *relative* worth; that is to say, a philosophical proof, though very powerful in itself, would be without weight with an unlettered audience, while one drawn from some object with which they are familiar, would have

with them an over-mastering influence. Moreover, in selecting proofs, he must take into account not only the intellectual condition of his audience, but also their moral condition, their passions and their prejudices, for these have a great deal to do in influencing the will.

IN WHAT ORDER OUGHT THE SPEAKER TO ARRANGE HIS PROOFS? The speaker is not always free to choose the order which to him seems best. In Parliament, that order will be guided by the debate; at the Bar, it is determined by the nature of the cause which he has in hand; consequently, the situation in which he finds himself must, for the most part, be his guide with respect to the order of his proofs.

But whenever he is free to choose, it is advisable to begin with those which are weak, in order to advance, proof by proof, from weak to strong, from strong to stronger, from stronger to strongest. The Homeric order, however, is that which is most recommended. This consists in first using a strong proof; then in massing together all those that are feeble; and ending with the strongest proofs.

WHAT MUST BE DONE WHEN THE PROOFS ARE DIFFERENT IN THEIR NATURE? When the proofs selected by the speaker are different in their nature, they must not be mixed up indiscriminately, and presented pell-mell to the audience. Proofs drawn from authority must be ranked together; then those from reason must follow in their due order; then those from experience, &c. Thus the audience will not be presented first, with a proof from reason, then with one from experience, then again, with one from reason, and so on in a confused sort of jumble which will shock and puzzle them.

BY WHAT MEANS ARE PROOFS CONNECTED WITH ONE ANOTHER? Proofs are connected with one another by some intermediary idea which acts as a sort of bridge by which we are enabled to pass without a leap, from proof to proof. These intermediary ideas are called *transitions*.

EXAMPLES: Massillon, in a sermon on the greatness of Jesus Christ, takes as his thesis the text: "He shall be great". His division is threefold; the characteristics of this greatness are: (1) Greatness in holiness; (2) greatness in mercy; (3) greatness in duration. The following is the transition by which he unites the third to the second point.

(1) "Vainly did Rome and Greece strive indefinitely to multiply the statues of their kings and their Cæsars; vainly did they exhaust all the resources of art in order to make these images more precious to succeeding generations. Of all their superb monuments, scarcely one has come down to us. That which is written upon marble and upon brass, is speedily effaced: that which is written upon the heart, remains for ever."—*Sermon on the Incarnation*, vol. ii.

Fléchier, in his funeral oration on Turenne, takes as his text the words: "And all the people of Israel bewailed him with great lamentation . . . and said: How is the mighty man fallen that saved the people of Israel" (1 *Mach.* ix. 20). His thesis is: "I will show you how this mighty man triumphed over the enemies of the State". His division is: (1) He triumphed over the enemies of the State, by his valour; (2) the passions of his soul, by his wisdom; (3) the errors and the vanities of the world, by his piety.

He thus passes from the first to the second point.

(2) "He was accustomed to fight without wrath, to conquer without ambition, to triumph without vanity, and to follow only virtue and wisdom as the rules of his actions. This is what I am going to show you in this second part," *i.e.*, how he conquered by wisdom, the passions of his soul.

IS ANYTHING FURTHER REQUIRED TO MAKE AN ORATION ONE OR OF A PIECE? Besides these transitions which are chiefly employed to unite the main divisions of a discourse, there are other means which must be made use of to connect idea with idea and proof with proof.

WHAT ARE THESE MEANS? They are, to deeply study the *thesis* or subject on which one is to write or to speak. Then, to form in one's mind a *plan* of the whole discourse. After this, to mark out the *general ideas* which are to be its very foundations. Lastly, to sketch out the *particular and accessory ideas* which will fill up the intervening space between the chief or general ideas.

WHAT WILL BE THE RESULT OF THIS STUDY? The result of this study will be, that the writer or the speaker will clearly see the end at which he has to aim, and the way by which he has to reach it. He will perceive the relation which exists between one part and another; and seeing this, he will not find any difficulty in passing from the one to the other.

HOW MAY THE ART OF MOST EASILY DOING THIS BE LEARNT? The art of forming plans, of making transitions, of connecting ideas with ideas, proofs with proofs, will be most easily learnt, by the study of the masterpieces of eloquence. In this study the future orator must chiefly attend to the *proofs* advanced to maintain the thesis. They must be considered and weighed, stripped of all their adornments of eloquence, to discover whether they are solid, suitable to the subject, and in their right place. They must be set before the mind in their order, and in their disposition or arrangement in the discourse, so that the student will be able to say: "Here the author wishes to prove this, and he proves it in this way and in that". Thus by examining the works of the masters of eloquence, one learns how to follow them upon the lines which have led them to success.

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE REFUTATION.

WHAT IS REFUTATION? Refutation is that part of the discourse in which the writer or the speaker meets and answers the objections which either have been, or which may be advanced against the thesis which he is endeavouring to maintain.

IN WHAT PART OF THE DISCOURSE OUGHT THE REFUTATION TO COME? The refutation sometimes *precedes*, sometimes *accompanies*, and sometimes *follows* the narration or the confirmation; its position depends, in great measure, upon the nature of the subject of which the writer or the speaker is treating.

(1) The refutation precedes the confirmation, when the audience are prejudiced against the opinion, or the measure, or the side upheld by the speaker or the writer.

(2) It accompanies and is mixed up with the confirmation, when there are not any prejudices to combat.

(3) It sometimes follows the confirmation, or it is reserved till even the end of the discourse; but this latter position is assigned to it chiefly in philosophical and in theological discussions.

HOW IS A FACT REFUTED? When a fact is brought forward in proof of any statement, it may be met and refuted by showing that it is not supported by irrefragable testimony; that it did not occur as it is generally reported to have occurred; that the consequences deduced from it, cannot logically be deduced.

A fact must be looked at in all its bearings, before it can be

refuted; it should never be regarded by itself, but with all its circumstances.

Demosthenes, in his reply to Æschines, thus meets the statement of the latter, that he (Demosthenes) had been the sole cause of the declaration of war against Philip, and consequently was responsible for all the ills that it brought upon the Athenians:—

“As for the defeat—that incident in which you, accursed wretch, so exult! you who should rather mourn over it—search through my whole conduct, and you will find nothing that brought this calamity upon my country. Let it be borne in mind, that there is not a single instance in which the ambassadors of Macedon ever prevailed against me, in any of those States in which I appeared as ambassador of Athens; not in Thessaly, nor in Ambracia, nor in Illyrica, nor among the Thracian princes, nor in Byzantium, in no one place; no, nor in the last debate at Thebes. But whatever was thus acquired by my superiority over the ambassadors of Philip, their master soon recovered by force of arms. Yet this, his victory, is urged as my offence. My adversary, even at the very time that he affects to ridicule my weakness, is so shameless, as to require that I, in my single person, should conquer all the powers of the Macedonian, and conquer them by words—for what else could I command? I had no power over the life of any one citizen, over the fortune of our soldiers, or the conduct of our armies, for which matters you are so absurd as to call me to account. In every particular in which a minister is accountable, in that let your scrutiny be strict and severe. I will never decline it. Now, what are the duties of a minister? To watch the first rise of every incident, to foresee, and to forewarn his fellow-citizens of that which he has foreseen. Each of these acts did I perform. To confine, on the one hand, within the narrowest bounds those evils which are naturally and necessarily to be en-



countered in every State; to restrain the fatal influence of irresolution, supineness, prejudice, and animosity; and on the other hand, to dispose the minds of men to concord and unanimity; to rouse them to a vigorous defence of their just rights; this was the task which I performed; nor can there be produced a single instance in which I proved deficient. If a man were asked, what were the means by which Philip effected most of his designs, the answer is obvious: it was by his armies, by his bribes, by corrupting those who were at the head of affairs. As to his armies, I neither commanded nor directed them. Therefore, I am not accountable for any of their motions. As to his bribes, I rejected them. In this respect I conquered Philip; for, as he who offers a bribe conquers when a man accepts his price and sells himself, so the man who will not be sold, who disdains to be corrupted, conquers the would-be corrupter. Well, then, with respect to me, as far as I am concerned, this State still remains unconquered.”—*De Coronâ*.

HOW IS AN ARGUMENT OR PIECE OF REASONING REFUTED? To refute an argument or piece of reasoning, it must first be reduced to its simplest expression; next, care must be taken to see whether the principles on which it rests are true or false; lastly, the consequences deduced from these principles must be examined, to see whether they have been rightly or wrongly drawn.

WHAT ARE THESE FALSE REASONINGS CALLED? They are usually called *Sophisms*, that is to say, false reasonings made in bad faith, with an intent to deceive. If they are made without any such evil intent, but solely through either ignorance or feebleness of intellect, they are called *paralogisms*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> All sophisms are based on the *matter*, not on the form of the syllogism. If the defect lies in the *form*, we have a *paralogism*—an apparent, not a real syllogism.

HOW MANY KINDS OF SOPHISMS ARE THERE? "Their number is legion, for they are many"; but they may all be reduced to the following: (1) Ignorance of the subject under discussion (*ignoratio elenchi*);<sup>1</sup> (2) begging the question (*petitio principii*); (3) the vicious circle; (4) error with regard to the cause (*non causa pro causâ*); (5) imperfect enumeration; (6) drawing a general conclusion from a particular proposition, or a universal conclusion from a general proposition; (7) ambiguity of words.

(1) IGNORANCE OF THE SUBJECT UNDER DISCUSSION. This sophism consists in setting aside the question or thesis to be proved, and in substituting for it some other, which, though like it, is nevertheless quite different from it.

Thus, if any one were to say: "That is an excellent picture, because it cost me five thousand pounds," he would be making use of this sophism; for the point under discussion is not the *price*, but the *excellence* of the picture.

(2) BEGGING THE QUESTION (*petitio principii*). This sophism consists in some way or other assuming in the premisses the conclusion which has to be proved. Thus a neophyte in theology might first assume the infallibility of the Church, and then from its decisions prove the inspiration of Scripture.

(3) THE VICIOUS CIRCLE. This sophism is only a double "begging the question". It is the assuming twice over, that which has to be proved. Thus, if the same neophyte were to argue with an adversary, and say: "The Scripture is inspired, because the Church by her infallible decision has so declared; and the Church cannot err, because the

<sup>1</sup> *Ignoratio elenchi* used to be defined "ignorance of the conditions necessary for a contradictory," e.g.:—

"Every man is mortal. But Christ in heaven is man. Therefore Christ in heaven is mortal." The apparent contradiction would be: "Every man is mortal, yet this man is not mortal".

But this definition and ours may be resolved into the same.

Scripture attributes to her the privilege of infallibility," he would evidently be arguing in a vicious circle. This sophism differs from the preceding, in that it twice assumes the point which has to be proved, whereas the other assumes it only once.

(4) ERROR WITH REGARD TO THE CAUSE (*non causa pro causâ*). This sophism consists in assigning effects to the wrong cause. For example: "The ship was wrecked because it started on its voyage on a Friday"; "he died because he dined at a table at which there were thirteen guests".

(5) IMPERFECT ENUMERATION. This consists in imagining that we have analysed some given whole, and examined it in all its parts, whereas we have, in reality, omitted some essential elements, the knowledge of which would have modified the conclusion which we have drawn. Writers and speakers who look at only one side of a question are liable to be guilty of this fallacy.

DRAWING A GENERAL CONCLUSION FROM A PARTICULAR PROPOSITION, AND A UNIVERSAL FROM A GENERAL PROPOSITION. Thus, some historians argue against the Catholic Religion: (1) "That religion which has had among its chief pastors men who were morally corrupt is evidently bad. But the Catholic Religion has had such men among its Popes, its bishops, and its priests. Therefore it must be bad.

(2) "Whatever produces men that are bad, must itself be bad. But every religion produces men that are a disgrace to the human family. Therefore all religions are bad."

AMBIGUITY OF WORDS. This sophism consists in using the same word in two different significations, as: "He who permits evil, cannot be just. But God permits evil. Therefore He cannot be just." In this syllogism, the word *permit* has two significations. In the major, it means to *sanction*; in the minor, to *suffer* evil to happen.

## CHAPTER X.

### THE PERORATION.

WHAT IS THE PERORATION? The peroration is the conclusion of the discourse. To succeed in making a good conclusion, the speaker must take care to choose the right moment at which to terminate his remarks. He must not end either abruptly or unexpectedly; nor must he continue speaking, when his audience expect him to finish. To do so would be to exhaust their patience, and mar the effect of all that he has previously said.

IN HOW MANY WAYS MAY A PERORATION BE MADE? A peroration may be made in three ways: (1) by pointing out the consequences which naturally flow from the proofs by which the speaker has established his thesis; (2) by a short recapitulation of the principal proofs which he has developed during the discourse; (3) by a few oratorical movements, the aim of which is to persuade the audience to adopt the view which he has been endeavouring to impress upon them.

WHAT ARE THE RULES FOR THE FIRST METHOD; *i.e.*, A DEDUCTION OF THE CONSEQUENCES? (1) The consequences must flow naturally from that which has been said. (2) They must not introduce into the discourse any new matter. (3) They must not be presented in a dry, didactic form.

WHAT ARE THE RULES FOR THE SECOND METHOD; *i.e.*, BY A RECAPITULATION OF THE PROOFS? This recapitulation depends upon the nature of the discourse which has been delivered. If it is a legal discourse, the recapitulation should be nothing but a short summary of the proofs, in order to

present them as a whole, before the minds of those who are about to give a decision. If it is a sermon, more brilliancy and oratorical effect may be thrown into it; the motives for adopting the view of the preacher both may, and ought to be, suggested; and oratorical movements employed, to induce them to accept it.

WHAT ARE THE RULES FOR THE THIRD METHOD; *i.e.*, BY ORATORICAL MOVEMENTS? When the discourse has been of such a nature as to lead naturally to these movements, a simple recapitulation should not be employed. Pathos should be used to excite the audience to sentiments of indignation, of compassion, of love, of enthusiasm, according as the character of the discourse has been such as to stir up these emotions in the heart.

EXAMPLES :—

(1) BY DEDUCTION OF CONSEQUENCES. “Therefore, my brethren, let us respect virtue. Let us honour, in the servants of God, His noble gifts and the marvels of His divine grace. By our regard and our esteem for piety, let us deserve the rewards of piety itself. Let us look upon the good, as the only persons that draw down upon the earth the graces of heaven, as means established for the purpose of one day reconciling us with God, as monuments set up to teach us that God still looks with pity upon men, and with mercy upon the Church. Let us encourage by our praise, if we cannot uphold by our example, the souls that return to Him. Let us applaud their change of life, if we cannot ourselves imitate that change; let us have the honour of at least defending them, if we cannot walk in their footsteps. Let us honour virtue. Let us have as our friends only those who are the friends of God; let us count upon the fidelity of men, only in as much as they are faithful to the Master Who made them; let us confide our sorrows and our pains only to those who can offer them up to Him Who is able to alleviate

them ; let us not believe that any take a true interest in us, except those who interest themselves in our salvation. Let us make straight the ways of our salvation ; let us, by our respect for the just, prepare the world one day, without surprise, to see us ourselves just. Let us not by our derision and our censure make human respect invincible—that human respect which will always hinder us from declaring ourselves servants of that piety which we have so publicly despised. Let us give glory to the truth ; and in order that it may deliver us, let us, as soon as it shows itself to us, receive it with veneration, as the Magi did ; let us not, like the priests, conceal it, when we owe it to our brethren ; let us not, like Herod, declare ourselves against it when we cannot any longer hide it from ourselves, in order that after having followed on earth the ways of truth, we may all one day be sanctified in truth and perfected in charity.”—*Massillon. On the Epiphany.*

(2) BY RECAPITULATION. “What is the conclusion which you draw from this discourse ? That the impious man is to be pitied for seeking, in a frightful uncertainty concerning the truths of faith, the sweetest hope of his destiny ; that he is to be pitied for not being able to live peacefully, unless he lives without faith, without worship, without confidence, without God ; that he is to be pitied, if it is necessary that the Gospel should be only a fable ; the faith of all ages, a credulity ; the sentiment of all mankind, a popular error ; the first principles of nations and of reason, childhood’s prejudices ; the blood of martyrs, whom the hope of a future life sustained in the midst of torments, a game invented to deceive men ; the conversion of the world, a human enterprise ; the accomplishment of prophecies, a mere chance ; in a word, if it is necessary that the best-established fact in the world should be false, in order that he may not be eternally miserable. O men ! I will point out to you a far

more certain way to attain unto peace : fear that future, in which you strive not to believe ; ask not that which is taking place in that other life of which men speak unto you ; but ask incessantly of yourselves what you are doing in this.” —*Massillon. On the Future Life.*

(3) BY ORATORICAL MOVEMENTS, APPEAL TO THE PASSIONS. “Would to heaven, O my country !—with reverence I say it, lest the loving kindness of my sentiments for Milo should be held in abomination by you—would to heaven, I repeat, that Clodius had not only lived, but been Consul, Prætor, Dictator, could that have saved me from beholding this calamity. O immortal gods ! how worthy of your care is that illustrious man ! ‘By no means,’ he cries, ‘the traitor met with the fate which he deserved. Let me, if it must be so, undergo the punishment which I have not deserved.’ Shall then the man who was born to save his own country, breathe forth his soul in another ? Shall he not at least die in the service of Rome ? Shall you enjoy the glories of his soul, yet deny a grave in Italy to his mortal remains ? Can any man give his voice for expelling from the city a hero whom every city upon earth would be proud to receive ? Happy the country which shall shelter him ! Unhappy this should she expel, and wretched should she lose him ! Here must I stop. My tears choke the utterance of my tongue. The commands of Milo forbid the intercession of my tears. In your decision, O Judges ! have the boldness, I conjure you, to be just. Believe me, your firmness, your equity, and your virtue, will be most agreeable to the man, who on this occasion has raised to the bench, the best, the wisest, and the bravest of mankind.”—*Cicero. Pro Milone.*

## CHAPTER XI.

### ELOCUTION.

WHAT IS ELOCUTION? Elocution is that part of Rhetoric which teaches the orator how to express in a suitable manner the thoughts which he wishes to lay before his audience. It must not be confounded with that which we usually understand by *elocution* or delivery. It has to do with writing, with style, rather than with delivery; and, therefore, has quite a technical meaning. We will consider it in its relation to proofs which it develops and amplifies, giving to them warmth, colouring, and life.

TO WHAT MAY ALL THE PROOFS OF A DISCOURSE BE REDUCED? All the proofs of a discourse may be reduced to syllogisms. But as this would be the death of eloquence, and give us nothing but dry bones, these proofs need *elocution* to clothe them with flesh, to make them living things that will interest and move us.

HOW DOES ELOCUTION EFFECT THIS? Elocution effects this by what is called *amplification*, or the unfolding of all that is in any given proof, or thought, or piece of reasoning. Its end or purpose, therefore, is to give to these proofs that development which is suitable to them, by throwing upon them greater light, and by viewing them from several different standpoints.

WHAT MEANS DOES IT USE TO EFFECT THIS? It uses reflection upon each principle, a reflection which goes to the very roots of things, seizes upon every secondary idea that is capable of throwing more light upon the subject, and



gathers all the facts which either history or experience can furnish, to support the view which has been taken of that subject.

IN HOW MANY WAYS MAY AMPLIFICATION BE USED? Amplification may be used in two ways,—to augment an idea, or to diminish it. We augment an idea, by presenting it to our audience under greater proportions than it has in itself, thus adding to it by an accumulation of secondary ideas, by energetic expressions, by vivid comparisons, and by contrasts. We diminish or enfeeble an idea opposed to the end which we have in view, by exactly the same means, but employed in a contrary way.

EXAMPLE. (I) Idea to be amplified: “Every Christian is bound to resist the enemies of God”.

“Some have to do it in one way, some in another: the war has to be waged by speech, by writing, by protests, by authority, by active and by passive opposition, by sufferings, and by various other modes which need not be mentioned in detail. No class is exempt from military service in the great conflict which is perpetually going on: all are called to the ranks, no matter what their individual temperament or temptation may be. The duty lies upon the young just entering into the maze of the great world, and easily deceived through their natural impressibility; upon the diffident, who are afraid of too loudly asserting even the truth; upon the amiable, who shrink from ruffling any person’s serenity; upon the ignorant, who are easily silenced by the learning whether real or assumed of their superiors in general education; upon the poor, whose temptation is to bow down before wealth; upon the idle, who are inclined to give way to almost any usurpation for the sake of peace; and upon the busy, who being too much occupied with secular cares to apply their minds to the things of the soul, leave the battle of heaven and of hell to be fought

by deputy, instead of by themselves.”—*Garside. The Prophet of Carmel.*

(2) By augmenting and by diminishing.

“You have conquered nations brutally barbarous, immensely numerous, indefinitely discontiguous, and abounding in everything that can make war successful. Yet their own nature and the nature of things made it possible to conquer all these. For no strength is so great as to be absolutely invincible, and no power so formidable as to be proof against superior force and courage. But the man who subdues passion, stifles resentment, tempers victory, and not only lifts up the noble, wise, and virtuous foe when prostrate, but improves and heightens his former dignity, is a man not to be ranked with mortals but with the gods.

“Therefore, O Cæsar! the pens and the tongues not only of Rome, but of all nations, will celebrate your military glory, and latest posterity will admire your actions. It happens, I know not how, that these virtues, whether they are read of or related, seem to be mingled with the shouts of soldiers and the clangour of trumpets; but when we either read or hear of a merciful, a generous, a humane, a gentle, or a wise action performed either when under the influence of resentment—that foe to counsel, or when flushed with victory—that prompter of insolence and of pride, with what a passion are we fired for the authors of such actions when we read of them not only in history, but even in romances!”—*Cicero. Pro Marcello.*

WHAT ARE THE SOURCES OF ORATORICAL AMPLIFICATION?  
The sources of oratorical amplification are reason, imagination, and sensibility. The chief sources whence reason draws matter for the amplification of ideas are the *Loci Communes*. Imagination and sensibility draw their developments or amplifications from the passions.

HAS SENSIBILITY ANY OTHER SOURCES OF AMPLIFICATION?

Yes, there are three other sources whence sensibility draws matter for the amplification of ideas. These sources are : images, comparisons, and suppositions.

IMAGINATION. (1) Amplification by images.

“Elias said : As the Lord liveth, *in Whose sight I stand*. Who or what was Achab when regarded in contrast with the presence of God ?—a point scarcely arresting the attention, an atom of dust, a tiny leaflet, too weak to make a rustle in the air as it falls to the ground. How the most exalted earthly greatness, power, and distinction dwindle to a phantom when the mind calmly places them within the circle of that ‘white light’ which issues forth even from the thought of the presence of the living God !”—*Garside. The Prophet of Carmel.*

(2) By comparisons. All earthly things are transitory.

“All these things are passed away like a shadow, and like a post that runneth on ; and as a ship that passeth through the waves, whereof when it is gone by the trace cannot be found, nor the path of its keel in the waves ; or as when a bird flieth through the air, of the passage of which no mark can be found, but only the sound of the wings beating the light air, and parting it by the force of her flight. She moved her wings and hath flown through, and there is no mark found afterwards of her way ; or as when an arrow is shot at a mark, the divided air presently cometh together again, so that the passage thereof is not known.”—*Wisdom, v. 9-12.*

(3) By suppositions. Necessity for charity.

“If I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. And if I should have prophecy, and should know all mysteries, and all knowledge, and if I should have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing. And if I should distribute all my

goods to feed the poor, and if I should deliver my body to be burned and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.”—  
1 Cor. xii. 1-3.

**SENSIBILITY.** Sensibility, aided by the imagination and the reason, amplifies ideas, by images, by comparisons, by suppositions, by enumeration of parts, by the accumulation of effects, by the exposition of circumstances, and by all the other *Loci Communes* which are within the domain of reason.

**EXAMPLE :** Eulogium of clemency.

“Therefore, here in the Forum do for these brothers, who are themselves of so great worth, and are held in so high esteem by this numerous assembly, do, I beseech you, do that which in the Senate you so lately did for Marcellus. As you gave Marcellus to the Senate, so give Ligarius to the people, whose affections you have ever held in the highest regard; and if that day for you was glorious, so to the people of Rome it was delightful. Do not, I beseech you, O Cæsar! do not hesitate to court as often as you can every such opportunity; nothing is so popular as goodness, and none of your many virtues begets either greater admiration or greater love than your pity. For in nothing does mankind approach so near to the gods as in giving safety to men. In your fortune there is nothing more exalted than that you have the power, in your nature there is nothing more amiable than that you have the inclination, to preserve numbers. This cause may perhaps require a longer, but your disposition, I am sure, a shorter speech than this. Therefore, as I think that my words, that no man’s words, can be nearly so persuasive as is the language of your own heart, I will here break off, after putting you in mind that by preserving the man who is absent, you preserve all who are here present.”—*Cicero. Pro Ligario.*

**WHAT ARE THE DEFECTS OF AMPLIFICATION?** With

regard to amplification, the defects to which young writers and young speakers are, in the beginning, exposed are futility, barrenness, and superabundance.

**FUTILITY.** This consists in giving a multitude of useless and frivolous details. It must be borne in mind that not all the ideas that present themselves to us, are important. We must learn to distinguish that which is the *leading*, from that which is only the accessory idea, and carefully eliminate from our composition all prolixity, and all pretentious ornaments.

**BARRENNESS.** In trying to avoid one extreme, we often fall into the other; thus, while endeavouring to shun all futility, all that is mere verbiage, writers become dry, barren. This defect is often natural, arising from a want of talent. In this case it is irremediable; but when it is the result of only a want of culture, it is easily remedied. Reading, thought, and the practice of composition will speedily cause it to disappear.

**SUPERABUNDANCE.** This consists in trying to say, upon any given subject, all that possibly can be said. It is a defect that need not be feared, for it is a sign of fruitfulness. A vine, by being judiciously pruned, produces a richer yield of grapes; but no amount of horticulture will ever cause them to grow upon one that is barren.

## CHAPTER XII.

### STYLE.

WHAT IS STYLE? Style is defined to be "the peculiar manner in which any one expresses his thoughts by means of language".

HOW MANY KINDS OF STYLE ARE THERE? The Ancients divided style into three kinds, the simple, the medium or temperate, and the sublime. This division corresponds to the three duties of an orator, to instruct, to please, and to move. The simple style is best adapted for instructing; the medium or temperate style for pleasing; and the sublime style for moving.

IS THE SIMPLE STYLE to be employed exclusively for instructing, the medium for pleasing, and the sublime for moving? No; it would be a grave mistake to suppose that reasoning, which constitutes the body of every discourse, must never be expressed in ornate or in figurative language. Again, simplicity may with great effect be used to please, and to touch the heart. Also, sublimity makes a deep impression on the mind and on the imagination.

SHOULD THE ORATOR AIM EXCLUSIVELY AT INSTRUCTING, or at pleasing, or at moving his audience? No; his aim, in each discourse, ought to be to attain these three ends. Therefore, his style will at one time be simple, at another ornate, and at another sublime.

CAN THE STYLE BE DETERMINED BY THE DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE DISCOURSE? No; for it is incorrect to lay down, as a general rule, that the exordium should be tem-

perate, the body of the discourse simple, the peroration sublime. For the exordium may be sublime, or simple, or temperate; the body of the discourse full of animation and expressed in figurative language; the peroration exceedingly simple, particularly if it is a mere recapitulation of the discourse.

BY WHAT MUST THE ORATOR BE GUIDED IN HIS CHOICE OF STYLE FOR HIS SUBJECT? In choosing the style in which to express his ideas, the orator must be guided by his common-sense. Under the direction of this trusty guide, he will know what style will best suit the different parts of his discourse, just as a painter knows what colours are best suited for representing the beauties of light and of shade in the landscape which he is transferring to his canvas.

WHAT ARE THE QUALITIES OF STYLE? Style ought to be (1) clear, (2) simple, (3) harmonious, (4) strong or energetic, (5) pure, (6) dignified, (7) suitable to the subject on which it is employed.

1. CLEAR. A style is clear, when we are able immediately and without effort to grasp the thought of the writer or of the speaker; when there is in it an absence of vagueness, ambiguity, and obscurity.

2. SIMPLE. A style is simple, when it is easily understood, when both in the language used, and in the structure of the sentences, there is nothing complicated, nothing abstruse.

3. HARMONIOUS. A style is harmonious, when the words, the phrases, the periods, and the members of which any piece of writing is composed, are so arranged, distributed, and proportioned, that the result is a certain musical cadence which the ear is at once able to detect.

4. STRONG OR ENERGETIC. A style is strong or energetic, when the words chosen to express ideas, are vigorous, animated, lofty, brilliant; and when they are so closely

knit together, as to give us a notion of compactness and solidity.

5. **PURE.** A style is pure, when it is correct in point of grammatical construction, and when there is appropriateness in the choice of words.

6. **DIGNIFIED.** A style is dignified, when it possesses the qualities of strength, nobility, and gracefulness, which are imparted by the selection of appropriate terms, by their right adjustment in each sentence, and by certain turns in the phraseology, turns which give to it that elevation, that polish, that refinement which make it ring with the tone ever noticeable in men who move in the upper circles of literary society.

7. **SUITABLE TO THE SUBJECT.** Style is suitable to the subject, when it is adapted to the matter of which a writer is treating, or an orator is speaking, just as the garments which we wear are fitted to our bodies.

**PATHETIC STYLE.** This is that style which is employed to act upon the various passions of the human heart. To touch that heart, the orator must first himself be moved by the passion which he wishes to excite in others. This is the principle laid down by Horace: "If you wish me to weep with you, you yourself must first be touched with sorrow".

To succeed in this style, the writer or the speaker must eliminate from his writing and from his words, all abstract and metaphysical terms; all ornate and flowery language which tells of care, and the study of effect; lofty and pompous diction; all that is sententious and epigrammatical. Only that which appears to be the language of the heart will stir to their lowest depths the hearts of our fellow-men.



## CHAPTER XIII.

### FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE.

WHAT IS MEANT BY FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE? By figurative language, we mean that in which the words are not used in their ordinary, simple sense, but in one which gives to them a form, a figure which they had not before. As a garment clothes the body and gives to it a grace which previously it did not possess, so this figurative sense clothes the words with a beauty which they of themselves do not possess. “Vim rebus adjiciunt,” says Quintilian, “et gratiam præstant, et ex eo nomen duxerunt, quod sint formatae quodam modo.” They add strength, and confer upon things a certain grace; hence their name, because they are in a way “formed, figured”.

HOW IS A FIGURE DEFINED? A figure may be defined as “a way of speaking or of writing which, by the ingenious use of words, adds to the thought expressed by them, nobility, strength and beauty”.

HOW ARE FIGURES DIVIDED? Figures are divided by rhetoricians, into figures which consist in the *word* itself; and into figures which consist in the *thought* expressed by the word.

#### *Figures of Words.*

WHAT ARE THESE FIGURES CALLED? These figures which consist in the turn given to the word itself, are called *tropes* or *metaphors*. The word trope, comes from the Greek word τροπος, a turning, a turn. The word metaphor, comes also from the Greek μετάφορα, a transferring or changing.

Therefore a trope or metaphor may be defined to be: "The turning or changing of a word from its original signification"; or again: "The application of a word to a use to which in its original meaning it cannot be put," *e.g.* :—

"He *bridles* his anger."

"It *deadens* the sound."

"Spring *awakes* the flowers."

MENTION THE NAMES OF THE CHIEF TROPES. The chief tropes, or figures of words employed both by writers and by speakers, are: Catachresis, metonymy, synecdoche, antonomasia, metaphor, allegory, fable, parable, simile.

CATACHRESIS (*κατάχρησις* = abuse). This is a figure of speech which by *abuse*, by *extension*, or by *imitation*, turns words from their primitive signification, to give to them another which has with that primitive signification a certain relation.

EXAMPLE (by abuse):—

"To *ride* upon a rail."

EXAMPLE (by extension):—

"A *flash* of wit."

"*Thunders* of applause."

"He gazed upon a *sea* of heads."

EXAMPLE (by imitation):—

"The *leaves* of a book."

METONYMY (*μετωνυμία*), *i.e.*, *transmutation, change of name*. This is a figure by which we put the name of one thing for the name of another. This may take place in six ways:—

I. THE CAUSE FOR THE EFFECT:—

"He reads *Virgil* and *Horace*."

"He lives by the *labour* of his hands."

"He unfortunately gave himself up to the worship of *Bacchus*."

## 2. THE EFFECT FOR THE CAUSE :—

“ So much the stranger proved  
He with his *thunder*.”

—Milton. *Paradise Lost*, Bk. i. 92.

## 3. THE SIGN FOR THE THING SIGNIFIED :—

“ He aspired to the *mitre*.”

“ He left the plough, to wield the *sceptre*.”

“ He carried to them the *olive-branch*.”

“ He left the *gown* and took the *sword*.”

“ He left the world and donned the *cowl*.”

## 4. THE CONTAINER FOR THE THING CONTAINED :—

“ He drained the foaming *bowl*.”

“ He smote the *city* with the edge of the sword.”

“ *England* expects every man to do his duty.”

“ He made the *kettle* boil.”

“ He unfortunately took to the *bottle*.”

“ He called upon the *House* to support his measure.”

## 5. THE ABSTRACT FOR THE CONCRETE :—

“ Youth is generally giddy.”

“ Beauty is usually vain.”

“ Slavery, mute and helpless, stretches forth to you her hands.”

## 6. THE PLACE FOR THE THING :—

“ He was carried to the house in a *sedan*.”

SYNECDOCHE (συνεκδοχή = comprehension). This is a figure of speech by which we give a *particular* meaning to a word which, in its own proper sense, has a more general meaning. Or, again, by which we give a *general* meaning to a word which, in its own proper sense, has only a *particular* meaning. It does this in the following ways :—

## 1. TAKING A PART FOR THE WHOLE :—

“ A fleet of fifty *sail*,”—(*sail* for *ships*).

“ All *hands* on deck ! ”—(*hands* for *men*).

"The *red-coats* soon dispersed the mob,"—(*red-coats* for *soldiers*).

2. THE WHOLE FOR A PART: "He wore a *beaver*," *i.e.*, a hat made of the skin of a beaver.

3. THE SINGULAR FOR THE PLURAL :—

"The *Englishman* is fond of travel."

"The *Celt* is hot-tempered."

"The *mule* is sure-footed."

4. THE PLURAL FOR THE SINGULAR :—

"*Historians* relate."

"The poets tell us."

"The sacred books teach us."

5. GENUS FOR THE SPECIES, AND VICE VERSÂ :—

"No *mortal* could endure it."

"Thou shalt eat *bread* at my table always."—2 *Kings*

ix. 7.

6. A CERTAIN NUMBER FOR AN INDEFINITE ONE :—

"He used that expression a hundred times."

"The hero of a hundred fights."

"The descendant of a hundred kings."

7. THE MATTER OUT OF WHICH A THING IS MADE, FOR THE THING ITSELF :—

"The sacred thirst of *gold*," *i.e.*, money.

"He took *silk*," *i.e.*, he became a Q.C.

"He held aloft the *glittering steel*," *i.e.*, sword.

ANTONOMASIA (ἀντωνομασία) *pronominatio*. This figure consists in putting a common name for a proper name ; and a proper name for a common name.

1. "The *Apostle* teaches us charity," *i.e.*, St. Paul.

"The Roman Orator," *i.e.*, Cicero.

"The Grecian Orator," *i.e.*, Demosthenes.

2. "He is a Nero," *i.e.*, a cruel man.

"He is a Judas," *i.e.*, a traitor.

"He is a Thersites," *i.e.*, a coward.

**METAPHOR** (*μεταφορά*), a transfer. This is a figure of speech by which we *transfer* a word from its ordinary signification to a signification which is foreign to it. This transference is made because of some resemblance between the thing signified by the word taken in its proper sense, and the thing signified by the word taken in its figurative sense.

EXAMPLE :—

“He *reined* in his fancy.”

“Man walks onward to the grave, dragging after him a *long chain* of delusive hopes.”

“The *glass* of fashion and the *mould* of form.”—*Hamlet*, iii. 1.

“More water *glideth* by the mill,  
Than wots the miller of.”

—*Titus Andron.* ii. 1.

“While memory holds a *seat* in this distracted *globe*.”—*Hamlet*, i. 5.

**ALLEGORY** (*ἀλληγορία*). This figure is defined by Quintilian to be: “A mode of expressing one’s thoughts in such a way that one thing is shown by the words, and another by the sense”: “Sermo quo aliud verbis, aliud sensu ostenditur”. Or again: “Allegory is a continuous metaphor, which under the veil of its proper meaning, conceals a purely figurative one”.

EXAMPLE :—

*The Skull.*

“Look on its broken arch, its ruined wall,  
Its chambers desolate and portals foul :  
Yes, this was once Ambition’s airy hall,  
The dome of thought, the palace of the soul.  
Behold, thro’ each lack-lustre, eyeless hole,  
The gay recess of Wisdom and of Wit,

And Passion's host that never brook'd control :  
 Can all saint, sage, or sophist ever writ,  
 People this lonely tower, this tenement refit ? ”

—Byron. *Childe Harold*, Cant. ii. 6.

**FABLE.** A fable is a short allegory or feigned story, intended to enforce some moral precept.

**EXAMPLE :—**

“A fox once entered the house of an actor, and while carefully examining all his theatrical properties, lighted upon a beautiful mask. Taking it in his hands, he exclaimed, ‘O what a beautiful head ! But it has no brains !’ This fable is aimed at men whose faces are beautiful, but whose minds are a blank.”—*Æsop's Fables*.

**PARABLE.** A parable is a similitude, a story, under which something else is figured.

**EXAMPLE :—**

“There were two men in one city, the one rich and the other poor. The rich man had exceeding many sheep and oxen ; but the poor man had nothing at all but one little ewe lamb, which he had bought, and nourished up, and which had grown up in his house together with his children, eating of his bread, and drinking of his cup, and sleeping in his bosom ; and it was unto him as a daughter. And when a certain stranger was come to the rich man, he spared to take of his own sheep and oxen to make a feast for that stranger who was come unto him, but took the poor man's ewe and dressed it for the man that was come to him.”—2 *Kings* xii. 1, 4.

**SIMILE OR COMPARISON.** This is a figure by which we expressly liken one thing to another.

**EXAMPLES :—**

“As in a theatre, the eyes of men,  
 After a well-graced actor leaves the stage,

Are idly bent on him that enters next,  
Thinking his prattle to be tedious," &c.

—*Richard II.* v. 2.

"Your face, my Thane, is as a book where men  
May read strange matters."

—*Macbeth*, i. 5.

"It comes o'er my memory  
As doth the raven o'er the infected house."

—*Othello*, iv. 1.

"He doth bestride the narrow world  
Like a Colossus."

—*Cæsar*, i. 2.

"Like a fair house built on another man's ground."

—*Merry Wives*, ii. 2.

"Like the base Indian, threw a pearl away,  
Richer than all his tribe."

—*Othello*, v. 2.

*Figures of Words which are not Tropes, that is, which do not change the meaning of the terms.*

MENTION THE NAMES GIVEN TO THESE FIGURES. The names of the figures which do not change the signification or meaning of the words are: repetition, conjunction, disjunction, ellipsis, pleonasm.

REPETITION. This figure consists in several times repeating the same word, in order to give either grace or energy to some thought. When this figure is made in a symmetrical manner, it is called *conversion*.

EXAMPLES :—

(1) "Every man, of every rank, nay, of every age, is now waiting without. The Forum is crowded; the Temples round the Forum are crowded; and all the passages to this House are crowded."—*Cicero. IV. Catil. Orat. cap. vii.*

(2) "But **on** this head, books are full ; the voice of the wise is full ; the example of antiquity is full ; and all these the night of barbarism had still enveloped, had it not been enlightened by the sun of science."—*Cicero. Pro Archia Poeta.*

CONJUNCTION AND DISJUNCTION. Conjunction is a figure of speech which consists in the multiplication of particles in a sentence, for the purpose of laying great stress upon the principal thought.

Disjunction, on the other hand, is a figure of speech which, in order to give greater rapidity to the style, retrenches these copulative particles.

EXAMPLES :—

(1) "For I have neither wit, nor words, nor worth, action, nor utterance, nor the power of speech, to stir men's blood."—*Cæsar*, iii. 2.

(2) "Rider and horse, friend, foe, in one red burial blent."—*Byron. Childe Harold*, Cant. iii. 28.

ELLIPSIS (ἔλλειψις), defect.

This figure consists in suppressing, in a sentence, certain words which are necessary to complete the grammatical construction.

EXAMPLE :—

"I loved thee inconstant ; faithful, what should I have done ?" *i.e.*, "I loved thee though thou wert inconstant ; what should I have done hadst thou been faithful ?"

PLEONASM. This figure consists in adding, in a sentence, certain words with which we might easily dispense :—

"I saw him with my own eyes."

### *Figures of Thought.*

WHAT IS A FIGURE OF THOUGHT ? A figure of thought is one that consists in the thought itself, independently of the expression. The difference between it and a figure of word is this : the figure of word depends on the *word itself*, while



the figure of thought depends upon the *turn* which we give to the expression. They agree in this, that whether we change the *word* or the *turn* given to the expression, the figure disappears. Thus, if we say: "There were a hundred *hands* on board," we make use of a figure, *i.e.*, a synecdoche. But if we say: "There were a hundred men on board," the figure disappears. Also, if instead of saying: "How lovely are thy tabernacles!" we say: "Thy tabernacles are lovely," the figure of thought, called *exclamation*, equally disappears.

WHAT ARE THE CHIEF FIGURES OF THOUGHT? The chief figures of thought are: Interrogation, subjection, apostrophe, exclamation, prosopopœia, invocation, imprecation, hypotyposis, irony, hyperbole, litotes, periphrasis, antithesis, comparison, communication, reticence, correction, epiphonema.

INTERROGATION consists in asking a number of questions. It gives life and energy to the thoughts, and awakens attention.

EXAMPLES:—

(1) "What, O Tubero! was the meaning of thy naked sword in the ranks at Pharsalia? At whose breast was its point directed? What did thy armour imply? thy spirit? thy eyes? thy hands? thy forward zeal? What didst thou wish? What didst thou want? I press the young man too much. He seems to be shocked."—*Cicero. Pro Ligario.*

(2) "And do you now put on your best attire?  
And do you now cull out a holiday?  
And do you now strew flowers in his way,  
That comes in triumph over Pompey's blood?"

—*Cæsar, i. i.*

(3) "Is this, then, worse,  
Thus sitting, thus consulting, thus in arms?  
What, when we fled amain, pursued, and struck

With heaven's afflicting thunder, and besought  
 The deep to shelter us? This hell then seem'd  
 A refuge from those wounds; or when we lay  
 Chained on the burning lake?"

—*Paradise Lost*, Bk. ii. 163.

SUBJECTION consists in putting questions to one's self, and in undertaking to answer them.

EXAMPLES. (1) "What, think you, were the paths which conducted this worthy magistrate to ends so lofty and so noble? Was it the way of favour? He had with the court no other relations than those which his business and his duties gave to him. Was it chance? They were long deliberating, and in a manner of so great delicacy, they believed it necessary to give everything to council, and to leave nothing to fortune. Was it cabal? He was one of those men who had never followed any party, but only duty."  
 —*Fléchier. Oraison Funéb. de Lamoignon.*

(2) "What restrains thee? The practice of our ancestors? When it has been known that in this State, persons not invested with public authority, have often put to death their wicked countrymen. Art thou bound up by the statutes relating to the punishment of Romans? In Rome, never can the man who withdraws his allegiance from his country, plead the privileges of a Roman. Dost thou dread the reproaches of posterity? Then, thou givest a glorious proof of gratitude to thy country, which, knowing thee only through thyself, without the merits of ancestors to speak in thy favour, so early raised thee through every gradation of subordinate trust, to her supreme seat of power! Should reproach, however keen, should danger, however dreadful, render thee remiss, when all that is dear to her sons is threatened? But if thou art to dread reproach, art thou to dread it, more on account of thy not being destitute of honesty and cour-

age, than for sloth and pusillanimity?"—*Cicero. I. Catil. Orat.*

**APOSTROPHE.** This is a figure by which, turning, as it were, aside from our audience, we address ourselves by name to some being, whether living or dead.

**EXAMPLES.** (1) "And thou, O Jove! whose name Romulus consecrated by the same rites with which he founded this city; thou whom we rightly call the stay of this city and this empire; thou shalt repel him and his accomplices from thy altars, from the temples of the other gods, from the roofs and the walls of Rome, from the lives and the property of our citizens."—*Cicero. I. Catil. Orat.*

(2) "Age, thou art sham'd!

Rome, thou hast lost the breed of noble bloods."

—*Cæsar, i. i.*

(3) "Oh thou Pisa! shame  
Of all the people who their dwelling make  
In that fair region, where th' Italian voice  
Is heard, since that thy neighbours are so slack  
To punish, from their deep foundations rise  
Capraia and Gorgona, and dam up  
The mouth of Arno, that each soul in thee  
May perish in the waters!"

—*Dante. Inferno, Cant. xxxiii.*

(3) "O thou, that with surpassing glory crown'd,  
Look'st from thy sole dominion, like the God  
Of this new world; at whose sight all the stars  
Hide their diminish'd heads; to thee I call."

—*Paradise Lost, Bk. iv. 32.*

**EXCLAMATION.** Is a figure by which a speaker or a writer breaks forth into interjections, in order to express some lively emotion of his soul. It has a close relationship with apostrophe, and is sometimes found united with it.

## EXAMPLES :—

(1) “O vanity! O nothingness! O mortals ignorant of their destiny.”—*Bossuet. Oraison Funéb. de la Duchesse d'Orléans.*

(2) “Angels and ministers of grace defend us!”—*Hamlet*, i. 4.

(3) “O for that warning voice which he who saw  
The Apocalypse, heard cry in heaven aloud,  
Then when the dragon, put to second rout,  
Came furious down to be revenged on man,  
‘Woe to the inhabitants on earth,’ ” &c.

—*Paradise Lost*, Bk. iv. 1.

(4) “O death! depart thou from our thoughts, and suffer us for a time to assuage the violence of our sorrow by the memory of our joy.”

ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΡΕΙΑ (*προσωποποιία*). Personification. This is a figure which by a bold personification causes all kinds of beings, whether individually or collectively, whether real or imaginary, whether gods or men, whether living or dead, to appear before our audience, and to express themselves in language suitable either to their characters or to the occasion which calls them forth.

EXAMPLE: “Should my country, that country which to me is far dearer than life, should all Italy, should all the frame of this constitution thus accost me: ‘Marcus Tullius, what are you about? Will you suffer my approved enemy, him whom you see, who, you are sensible, is to be put at the head of this impending war, whose presence in their camp my enemies expect, that spring, that first principle of guilt and treason, the man who enrolls my slaves, who ruins my citizens; will you suffer him, I say, to escape, that he may seem not as driven from, but into this city? Will you not command him to be thrown into fetters, to be dragged to

execution, and with his blood to atone for his manifest guilt?'"—*Cicero. I. Catil. Orat.*

INVOCATION. Is a kind of prayer addressed to some being either real or abstract, in order to call in his intervention, or to procure his presence.

EXAMPLE :—

"And chiefly thou, O spirit, that dost prefer  
Before all temples the upright heart and pure,  
Instruct me, for thou knowest."

—*Paradise Lost*, Bk. i. 17.

IMPRECATION. Is a figure by which we invoke heaven or hell or any evil against some object which is odious to us.

EXAMPLE :—

"O treble woes  
Fall ten times treble on that cursed head,  
Whose wicked deed thy most ingenious sense,  
Deprive thee of. . . .

"The devil take thy soul."

—*Hamlet*, v. 1, 2.

HYPOTYPOSIS (*ὑποτύπωσις*). This is a figure by which a particular fact, a great event, is narrated in so vivid a manner that we fancy it is taking place under our eyes.

EXAMPLE :—

"I see before me the gladiator lie :

He leans upon his hand—his manly brow  
Consents to death, but conquers agony,  
And his droop'd head sinks gradually low,  
And thro' his side the last drops ebbing slow  
From the red gash, fall heavy, one by one  
Like the first of a thunder shower : and now  
The arena swims around him ; he is gone,  
Ere ceased the inhuman shout which hailed the wretch  
who won."

—*Byron. Childe Harold*, Cant. iv. 140.

CLIMAX. This is a figure of speech which consists in rising, or in descending gradually from one circumstance to another, till our idea is either exalted to its utmost height, or sunk to its lowest depth.

EXAMPLES: (1) "It is a crime to put a Roman citizen in bonds; it is the height of guilt to scourge him; little less than parricide to put him to death; what name then shall I give to crucifying him?"—*Cicero. Against Verres.*

(2) "You do nothing, you plot nothing, you think nothing, which I do not only hear, but see, and clearly understand."—*Cicero. I. Catil. Orat. cap. iii.*

IRONY (*εἰρωνεία*). This is a figure of speech by which, under the proper and literal sense of the words, there is concealed a meaning which is just the opposite to that which they would naturally convey.

EXAMPLES: (1) "Thou art of great authority, indeed, and governest well the kingdom of Israel!"—3 *Kings* xxi. 7.

(2) "O Jew! an upright judge, a learned judge!"

"A Daniel, still say I; a second Daniel!"

I thank thee, Jew, for teaching me that word!"

—*Merchant of Venice*, iv. 1.

(3) "Vanguard, to right and left the front unfold;

That all may see who hate us, how we seek

Peace and composure, and with open breast

Stand ready to receive them, if they like

Our overture, and turn not back perverse;

But that I doubt; however witness heaven,

Heaven witness thou anon, while we *discharge*

Freely our part; ye who appointed stand,

Do as you have in *charge*, and briefly *touch*

What we propound, and loud that all may hear."

—*Paradise Lost*, Bk. vi. 558.

- (4) "Yet none in lofty numbers can surpass,  
 The bard who soars to eulogise an ass,  
 How well the subject suits his noble mind ;  
 'A fellow feeling makes us wondrous kind'."  
 —Byron. *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*.

(5) "New, and until this day unheard of, is the charge which my kinsman Tubero has brought before thee, Cæsar ; to wit, that Quintus Ligarius has been in Africa ! Caius Pansa, a man of excellent parts, depending perhaps upon his intimacy with you, has ventured to own it."—Cicero. *Pro Ligario*.

HYPERBOLE (*ὑπερβολή*), a throwing beyond. This is a figure of speech which consists in exaggerating anything, either by adding to it, or by taking from it. The words which it employs go far beyond the truth ; but they are brought back to their just limits by the hearers or by the readers.

EXAMPLES :—

- (1) "Me miserable ! which way shall I fly,  
 Infinite wrath and infinite despair ?  
 Which way I fly is hell ; myself am hell ;  
 And in the lowest deep a lower deep,  
 Still threatening to devour me, opens wide,  
 To which the hell I suffer seems a heaven."  
 —*Paradise Lost*, Bk. iv. 73.
- (2) "His spear, to equal which the tallest pine  
 Hewn on Norwegian hills to be the mast  
 Of some great ammiral were but a wand,  
 He walked with to support uneasy steps  
 Over the burning marl, . . ."  
 —*Paradise Lost*, Bk. i. 292.
- (3) "Worn to a shadow."

- (4) "And pity, like a naked, new-born babe,  
Striding the blast, or heaven's cherubim, horsed  
Upon the sightless couriers of the air,  
Shall blow the horrid deed in every eye,  
That tears shall drown the wind."

—*Macbeth*, i. 7.

**LITOTES** (λιτότης). This is a figure by which we heighten the idea, while seeming to lessen it by our words.

**EXAMPLES :—**

- (1) "He is no fool," *i.e.*, he is a wise man.  
(2) "He is not to be despised," *i.e.*, he is to be very much respected.

(3) "Italy was, at that time, full of Grecian arts and culture; in fact the liberal arts were then studied in Latium with a degree of ardour greater than is that with which they are now pursued in the above-mentioned cities; and here at Rome, through the tranquillity which the Republic enjoyed, they were not neglected."—*Cicero. Pro Archia.*

**PERIPHRAISIS.** This is a figure, which by circumlocution elevates and ennobles an idea which might be expressed in fewer words.

**EXAMPLES :—**

(1) "The slaves of Milo did that which every one would like his slaves to do in similar circumstances," *i.e.*, they killed him.—*Cicero. Pro Milone.*

(2) "To give a never-fading proof of the esteem and the love which he had for this great commander, the king assigned to his illustrious ashes a place among those lords of the earth who still retain, in the magnificence of their tombs, an image of the magnificence of their earthly homes." That is to say, Louis XIV. ordered Turenne to be buried among the kings.—*Mascaron.*

**ANTITHESIS** (ἀντίθεσις) or opposition, is a figure by which we oppose words to words, and thoughts to thoughts.



## EXAMPLES :—

- (1) “ But yesterday, the word of Cæsar might  
Have stood against the world ; now lies he there  
And none so poor to do him reverence.”

—*Cæsar*, iii. 2.

(2) “ If we balance the circumstances of the opposing parties, we can form a true notion as to where the superiority lies. On the one side contends modesty, on the other insensibility to shame ; here purity, there pollution ; here integrity, there injustice ; here virtue, there villainy ; here resolution, there rage ; here dignity, there defilement ; here regularity, there riot. On the one side are ranged equity, temperance, courage, prudence, and every virtue ; on the other, iniquity, luxury, cowardice, rashness, and every vice. Lastly, the struggle lies between wealth and want ; the dignity, and the degeneracy of reason ; the force, and the frenzy of the soul ; between well-grounded hope, and widely-extended despair.”—*Cicero. II. Catil. Orat.*

(3) “ Is it, then, within the bounds of credibility, that after having declined to put Clodius to death with the consent of all, Milo would choose to strike him down with the disapprobation of many ? Can you believe that the man whom he scrupled to slay, when he might have done so with full justice, in a convenient place, at a fitting time and with impunity, he made no scruple to murder, against justice, in an unfavourable place, at an unseasonable time, and at the risk of being himself condemned to death ? ”—*Cicero. Pro Milone*, cap. xvi.

SUSPENSION is a figure which consists in suddenly stopping in the middle of a sentence, as it were to give the audience a moment to guess that which the speaker is going to say.

EXAMPLE : “ How often has she thanked God for two great graces which He bestowed upon her ; first, for having made her

a Christian, and secondly . . . what think you ? perhaps for having established upon a solid basis the affairs of her son the king ? No, it was for having made her unfortunate.”—*Bossuet. Oraison Funéb. sur la Reine d'Angleterre.*

PRETERITION or PRETERMISSION is a figure which consists in pretending to pass over something, or only just to touch upon it, while all the time the speaker actually does not pass it over, but really insists strongly upon it.

EXAMPLE : “When lately, by the death of your former wife, you had prepared your house for a new alliance, did you not heighten the crime, by another incredible act of guilt ? But this I pass over, and readily suffer to remain in silence, lest the enormity of such an act may seem either to have had being in this city or not to have been punished. I pass over the wreck of your fortune, a calamity which you will find hanging over you at the next Ides.”—*Cicero. I. Catil. Orat. cap. vi.*

COMMUNICATION is a figure by which the speaker, confiding in the goodness of his cause and the soundness of his reasons, trusts himself to the decision of the judges, of the hearers, and of even his adversary himself.

EXAMPLE : “Do I, therefore, seem to you, Cæsar, to be engaged in the cause of Ligarius ? to speak favourably of his conduct ? Whatever I have said I wish to be referred to one single point, either that of your humanity and clemency, or of your compassion.”—*Cicero. Pro Ligario.*

RETICENCE (*ἀποσιώπησις*). Is a figure by which a speaker suddenly interrupts himself in the middle of a sentence, and passes on without completing what he was going to say, at the same time, however, allowing to be understood that which he affects to suppress.

EXAMPLES :—

- (1) “O thou — by what name can I properly call thee !”
- (2) “As to me — but, when I am entering on my de-

fence, let me suppress everything ominous, sensible as I must be of this, the advantage of my adversary.”—*Demos-thenes. Crown Oration.*

**CORRECTION.** Is a figure by which the speaker corrects his words or his thoughts, and substitutes for them others which are either stronger or more apt to express his meaning.

**EXAMPLES :—**

(1) “Mad let us grant him then : and now remains, That we find out the cause of this effect—or rather say, the cause of this defect.”—*Hamlet*, ii. 2.

(2) “His conduct towards me has ever been unbecoming, or rather it would, perhaps, be more correct to call it, insolent.”

**EPIPHONEMA** (ἐπιφώνημα). Consists in a kind of exclamation, or of a short reflection at the end of a narration, upon the subject about which we have just spoken.

**EXAMPLES :—**

(1) “Observe, Tubero, I beg of you, that I who boldly own what was done by myself, dare not plead guilty to that which was done by Ligarius ; and I have owned these facts concerning myself, that Tubero may pardon me when in the same manner I venture to mention him. He is a person whose application and merit delight me because of my near relationship to him, and of the hope that the repute of my young kinsman will reflect some glory upon myself.”—*Cicero. Pro Ligario.*

(2) “History is full of the tragical adventures of wicked princes, who perished, the victims of their own tyranny.”

(3) “The true support of power is love, not fear.”

*Oratorical figures, sometimes counted among figures of thought.*

**ENUMERATION OF PARTS.** This is an assemblage of all

the details and all the circumstances which can elevate a subject, and leave a striking image of it in the mind.<sup>1</sup>

EXAMPLE :—

“ These our actors,  
As I foretold you, were all spirits, and  
Are melted into air, into thin air :  
And, like the baseless fabric of this vision,  
The cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces,  
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,  
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve ;  
And, like this unsubstantial pageant faded,  
Leave not a rack behind.”

—*Tempest*, iv. i.

ALLUSION. Is a figure by which, in our discourse, or in our writing, we cause those who either hear us, or read our words to perceive some relation, some resemblance, between the persons or the things of which we speak, and other persons and other things with which they are already familiar.

EXAMPLE : “ Oliver Twist, in the parish workhouse, Smike at Dotheboys Hall, were petted children when compared with this wretched heir-apparent of a crown.”—*Macaulay. Frederic the Great.*

INDUCTION. By this figure or oratorical turn, the speaker, after having convinced his audience of one or of more truths, leads them to be convinced of another truth by the analogy and the resemblance which he establishes between two truths or among several ; so that, if his hearers yield on one side, they cannot resist upon the other.<sup>2</sup>

DESCRIPTION. This is a short discourse by which the writer or the speaker paints before the minds of those who either read or hear his words, any object whatever, by giving, in detail, all the features which characterise it.

<sup>1</sup> For other examples, see chap. ii. sect. 2.

<sup>2</sup> For an example of induction, see chap. ii. sect. i.

## EXAMPLES :—

(1) (The war horse.) “Wilt thou give strength to the horse, or clothe his neck with neighing? Wilt thou lift him up like the locusts? The glory of his nostrils is terror. He breaketh up the earth with his hoof, he pranceth boldly, he goeth forward to meet armed men. He despiseth fear, he turneth not his back to the sword. Above him shall the quiver rattle, the spear and shield shall glitter. Chasing and raging, he swalloweth the ground, neither doth he make account when the noise of the trumpet soundeth. When he heareth the trumpet, he saith: Ha, ha; he smelleth the battle afar off, the encouraging of the captains, and the shouting of the army.”—*Job xxxix.* 19-24.

(2) (Behemoth.) “Behold Behemoth whom I made with thee, he eateth grass like an ox. His strength is in his loins. . . . He setteth up his tail like a cedar. His bones are like pipes of brass, his gristle like plates of iron. . . . To him the mountains bring forth grass. . . . He sleepeth under the shadow, in the covert of the reed, and in moist places. . . .

“Behold, he will drink up a river, and not wonder, and he trusteth that the Jordan may run into his mouth.”—*Job xl.* 10-18.

PORTRAIT is the description which we make of animate beings. Taken in this sense, *portrait* is the description which we make of a person, whether that description is of his body or of his mind.

## EXAMPLES :—

- (1) “Which when Beelzebub perceived, than whom  
Satan except, none higher sat, with grave  
Aspect he rose, and in his rising seem’d  
A pillar of state; deep on his front engraven  
Deliberation sat and public care;  
And princely counsel in his face yet shone,

Majestic, though in ruin : sage he stood  
 With Atlantean shoulders fit to bear  
 The weight of mightiest monarchies ; his look  
 Drew audience and attention still as night  
 Or summer's noontide air, while thus he spake."

—*Milton. Paradise Lost*, Bk. ii. 299.

(2) "The nature of Frederic William was hard and bad, and the habit of exercising arbitrary power had made him frightfully savage. His rage constantly vented itself to right and left in curses and blows. When his majesty took a walk, every human being fled before him as if a tiger had broken loose from a menagerie. If he met a lady in the streets, he gave her a kick, and told her to go home and mind her brats. If he saw a clergyman staring at the soldiers, he admonished the reverend gentleman to betake himself to study and prayer, and enforced this pious advice by a sound caning, administered on the spot. But it was in his own house that he was most unreasonable and ferocious. His palace was hell, and he the most execrable of fiends—a cross between Moloch and Puck. . . . His mind was uncultivated. He despised literature. He hated infidels, papists, and metaphysicians, and did not very well understand in what way they differed from each other. The business of life, according to him, was to drill and to be drilled. The recreations suited to a prince were to sit in a cloud of tobacco smoke, to sip Swedish beer between the puffs of the pipe, to play backgammon for three halfpence a rubber, to kill wild hogs, and to shoot partridges by the thousand."—*Macaulay. Frederic the Great*.

PARALLEL. This consists of two pictures, or portraits, and may be defined to be : "A comparison between two objects or two persons, in which comparison we examine and explain their relations and their differences".

EXAMPLE : "There were seen to enter the lists, two illus-

trious adversaries, of whom it would, perhaps, be more correct to say that they were equal rather than that they were like each other. The one, already for many years a perfect scholar in all the science of the Church; covered with the laurels which he had won in fighting for her against heretics; an unwearied athlete whose age and victories might have dispensed him from once again engaging in the combat; but whose mind, still vigorous and superior to the weight of years, preserved in his old age a great deal of that fire which he had in his youth. The other, younger, and in the flower of his age, less widely known by his writings, but yet famous on account of his eloquence and the loftiness of his genius; nourished and long exercised in the matter which constituted the subject of the contest; perfectly at home in the language of the mystics, capable of understanding everything, of explaining everything, and of making plausible everything that he explained. Both had long been friends before they became rivals; both were commendable for their innocence of morals, equally lovable for the sweetness of their intercourse; ornaments of the Church, of the Court, of humanity itself; the one respected as a setting sun, whose rays were about to be extinguished with majesty; the other regarded as a rising sun that would one day fill the world with his splendour, if he could but break through this cloud which threatened to eclipse his brightness."—*D'Aguesseau. Bossuet et Fénelon.*

CONTRAST. This is effected by the opposition of one thing to another. This opposition causes the characteristics of each to stand out in bold relief, and to imprint themselves indelibly on the mind.

EXAMPLES: (1) "In works of reasoning, truth is as a king at the head of his army on the day of battle; in works of imagination, it is as a queen on the day of her coronation."—*De Bonald.*

- (2) "Look here upon this picture and on this—  
 The counterfeit presentment of two brothers.  
 See what a grace was seated on this brow ;  
 Hyperion's curls ; the front of Jove himself ;  
 An eye like Mars', to threaten and command ;  
 A station like the herald Mercury  
 New lighted on a heaven-kissing hill ;  
 A combination and a form indeed,  
 Where every god did set his seal,  
 To give the world assurance of a man :  
 This was your husband. Look you now what follows :  
 Here is your husband ; like a mildew'd ear,  
 Blighting his wholesome brother."

—*Hamlet*, iii. 4.

HYPOTHESIS OR SUPPOSITION. This consists in supposing either as possible or as impossible, something from which we draw certain consequences.

EXAMPLE: "If Titus Annius, holding in his hand the blood-stained sword, were to exclaim: 'Citizens, I pray you approach and give ear: I slew Publius Clodius; his fury, which, at the time, we were unable to curb by any laws or by any legal proceedings, with this sword and with this right hand I warded off from your necks; so that to my single arm it is owing, that right, equity, laws, liberty, modesty, chastity, continue in the city'; should we have any cause to fear how the State would tolerate these words?"—*Cicero. Pro Milone*, cap. xxviii.



## CHAPTER XIV.

### SECTION I.

#### *Delivery or Action.*

WHAT IS DELIVERY OR ACTION? Delivery or action, is defined to be "the eloquence of the body," since it consists in the movements of the body and in the use of the voice. Delivery holds a very important place in eloquence; because when it is not good, the most eloquently written speech is marred and its effect is in great measure lost.

WHAT IS REQUISITE FOR A GOOD DELIVERY? Three things are requisite for a good delivery: (1) a good memory, to recall the thoughts which have to be laid before the audience; (2) a good voice, to convey those thoughts to their ears; (3) graceful gestures, to add life and movement to that which we have to say.

WHAT IS MEMORY? Memory is a faculty by which our soul is able to recall the ideas of things, of which the intelligence at some previous time has been cognisant. Its importance to the orator cannot be overrated, because if he be without it, he will be compelled to read all that he has to say, and will thus detract immensely from the force of his words.

CAN THE MEMORY BE IMPROVED? Yes, the memory may be improved to so great an extent that many, who at first are well nigh destitute of this faculty, will be able, by cultivating it, to rival those in whom it seems to predominate over the other faculties.

HOW MAY THE MEMORY BE CULTIVATED? The memory is cultivated by exercise. Every day a certain number of lines should be learnt. When new matter is added to the "by heart" of the preceding day, the lesson previously committed to memory, should be repeated together with the new matter, till at last several hundreds of lines will be said at once. But the cardinal point to be aimed at in cultivating the memory, is accuracy or *exactitude*. No words must be substituted for those of the book. The same order must be observed, and the pupil must tie himself down to the text, till this has been accomplished. Slovenly learning by heart, or, in other words, inaccurate learning, is positively injurious to the memory.

HOW MANY KINDS OF MEMORY ARE THERE? There are two kinds of memory : (1) the memory of words, and (2) the memory of ideas. The first consists in an accurate retention of the very words and sentences of the book, in the order in which they are written. This is the memory which must be cultivated at first, in order to secure accuracy. The second is the memory of ideas, and consists in learning only the order of the ideas and their connection with one another. This is the memory which the orator must have. Practice in the art of public speaking will afterwards enable him to improvise the language in which to develop and express these ideas.

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## SECTION II.

### *The Voice.*

WHAT IS THE VOICE? The voice is the organ or instrument which the orator makes use of to carry his words to the ears of those who listen to him.

WHAT QUALITIES SHOULD THE VOICE HAVE? The

qualities which the voice should have are : (1) intensity, (2) distinctness, (3) variety, (4) correctness of pronunciation.

**INTENSITY.** Every voice has three tones : the high, the medium, and the low tone. The high tone is that which we use when we speak to those who are at some distance from us ; the medium tone is the one which we employ in conversation ; and the low tone is that in which we are accustomed to whisper.

It is from the medium tone that we rise to the high tone ; and in using this high tone, care must be taken not to rise so high as to render our note piercing. This offends and shocks the audience.

In making use of the low tone, we must not descend so far as to become ridiculous. In this, as in all things else, extremes must be avoided.

The best method for taking the right pitch for the voice, is to speak to the persons who are farthest off. If without any visible effort they appear to catch our words, it is a sign that we have hit upon the right tone. Hence the necessity for beginning with a medium tone, which may easily be raised to the volume requisite to reach the ears of the most distant auditor.

**DISTINCTNESS.** This means *clear and unconfused*. It is one of the most important qualities of the voice. For any one who wishes to become a public speaker, it is absolutely indispensable. For the end for which he speaks, is to persuade. To persuade, he must be heard. To be heard, he must be *distinct*. The words which come from his mouth must leave it clear, separate from one another, and not jumbled together in a confused mass. That which will prevent them from being thus inextricably locked together in one long, unintelligible rumble of sound, is *articulation*. Each syllable of every word must be made to stand out clear, and not be run into its next neighbour. Thus, the word

*Latin* must be *Lat-in*, and not *Lat'n* ; poem, *po-em*, and not *pome*.

VARIETY. This consists in changing the tones of the voice to suit the various emotions by which the orator is swayed, during the delivery of his discourse. Each passion has its corresponding tone, and that tone should be employed to express the words in which that passion or that emotion is made manifest to the audience. That which is most carefully to be avoided, in this respect, is the *monotone* which fatigues the audience, and ends by lulling them to sleep.

CORRECTNESS OF PRONUNCIATION. Besides avoiding *monotony*, the voice must not give to the words uttered by it, a sound which does not belong to them. It must not, for instance, make long that which ought to be *short*, nor short that which ought to be *long*. One of the best means to acquire a good pronunciation is to mix familiarly with, and to submit to the correction of, those who pronounce well, and who have neither mannerisms nor provincialisms.

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### SECTION III.

#### *Gesture.*

GESTURE is defined to be "the expression of thought by the movements of the body". No book of *precepts* can efficiently teach this part of Rhetoric ; assiduous practice under a master who can, in his own person, give a model for imitation, is the only method that will be crowned with success.

INSTRUMENTS OF GESTURE. The principal instruments of gesture are : the head, the arms, and the hands.

THE HEAD. While we are speaking, the head must be kept in an easy position. If lowered, it gives to a man a spiritless appearance ; if raised upwards, it imparts to him

an air of pride and self-sufficiency ; if bent to the right or to the left, it betokens indolence ; if held erect and immovable, it gives an air of ferocity. The head can express in a marvellous manner the different passions of the soul.

Admiration. The head is slightly raised.

Fear.

Indignation.

Refusal.

Rejection.

Disdain.

} The head is turned somewhat to the right  
or to the left.

Compassion.

Prayer.

Conjuring.

Soliciting.

Affirmation.

Exhortation.

Command.

} The head is slightly bent.

} The head is kept firm and fixed.

THE FACE. This is as a book in which our audience may read all the emotions of our soul.

THE EYES. That which gives most expression to the face, are the eyes. These burn in anger ; they threaten, they reproach, they pity ; they express admiration, fear, doubt, hope—in one word, all the emotions that are stirring in the heart.

THE ARMS. These should not be glued to the sides, nor suffered to hang down stiff and straight. Whenever a gesture has to be made, they should be moved with a free, unconstrained action, and be thrown well out from the sides.

THE HANDS. Three kinds of gesture are made by the hands.

(1) *Indicative gestures.* To point out time, number, quantity, places, persons.

(2) *Imitative gestures.* To describe things.

(3) *Affective gestures.* To express passions and emotions.

The hands ought not to be raised higher than the head nor lowered past the girdle ; but this rule seems to be " more honoured in the breach than in the observance ".

It is not in good taste to clap the hands ; to strike with them upon the desk or the pulpit ; to count the fingers ; to shut the hand and present it to the audience like the fist of a boxer ; nor to hold the fingers wide apart. All affectation and apparent study should be eliminated from gesture. The action should be suited to the word, and the word to the action. Above all things, the public speaker should study never " to o'erstep the modesty of nature," and in his delivery to avoid all *ranting* and all *mouthng* of his words.

THE ELBOWS. When the arms are used, the elbows must not be kept close to the sides ; the whole arm must be well thrown out from the body.

## CHAPTER XV.

### SACRED ELOQUENCE.<sup>1</sup>

#### PREPARATION FOR PREACHING.

##### SECTION I.

##### *Remote Preparation.*

HOW MANY KINDS OF PREPARATION ARE THERE? There are two kinds of preparation for preaching: *remote* and *proximate*. The first consists in reading, in collecting matter, and in writing compositions; the second, in actually composing the sermon, and in committing it to memory.

READING. Reading may be employed for the purpose of collecting materials, or of forming one's style, or of studying good models.

CHOICE OF BOOKS. Only the best models should be chosen, because mediocre writers may corrupt the taste; but by confining one's self to the most excellent, one catches their spirit and their manner. Among profane authors, Demosthenes and Cicero are recommended; among the Fathers of the Church, St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine; among modern writers we would advise a careful study of the works of Cardinal Newman and of Cardinal Manning.

<sup>1</sup> The matter contained in these chapters on Sacred Eloquence, will be found fully developed in (1) *Précis de Rhétorique Sacrée*, par Van Hemel; (2) *Traité de la Prédication*, par un ancien Supérieur de Séminaire; (3) *La Prédication*, par Monseigneur Dupanloup, Evêque d'Orléans.

Among French preachers the best for instructing those who are studying the art of eloquence are Massillon, Bourdaloue, Lacordaire, and Monsabré.

**HOW TO STUDY THESE AUTHORS.** Having made choice of a few excellent authors, the next step to take is to carefully study them. You must read slowly, a little at a time, and then reflect much upon that which you have read. For this purpose, search into the discourse and discover the plan of it; observe the connection of the proofs with one another; see whether they tend to make good the thesis with which the preacher sets out, and account to yourself for each part by saying: "Here, his aim is to establish this proposition, and he does it by the following reasons; there, he explains a truth and applies it to his hearers". After thus reducing a piece of eloquence to its simplest expression, take notice how that simple statement has been amplified and embellished; mark what that is which moves you; how it moves you; and why it does so. Finally, draw up in writing the plan of the discourse; note the divisions, the sub-divisions, and their principal developments. This close study will teach you to reflect, to be orderly and methodical, to write with facility, and to express yourself with ease.

**COLLECTIONS OF MATTER FOR SERMONS.** One of the fruits to be gathered from your readings, is a collection of matter which will instruct the intelligences and move the hearts of those who listen to you. If you be careful to make one, it will save for your future use all the books that you read, the studies to which you apply yourself, and the lectures that you attend. Many of the most eminent men who have adorned the Church were so sensible of its necessity, that they made for themselves quite a treasure from which they drew in after years. "Look upon all reading," said Pope Damasus, "that is not made, pen in hand, as a dream that passes away." St. Charles Borromeo was in-



defatigable in this labour. St. Francis Xavier, on this subject, writes : " That which we confide to paper, impresses itself upon our minds, is saved for our future use, and is easily recalled to our memory ". To make such collections as those of which we speak, take a manuscript book and devote to each letter of the alphabet four or five pages. Under each of the letters, write down whatever strikes you in the works that you read. You need not write out the whole passage, but state simply the subject and the place where it is to be found. If you prefer to give the substance of it, all the better ; but do not fail to give the reference. If the subject strikes you, be sure to write upon it. That which has moved you, will in all likelihood move others also. Though there are several such collections already printed, yet that which you make for yourself will always be better suited to your peculiar bent of mind than that which has been made by another.

ESSAYS IN COMPOSITION. After storing the memory with matter acquired by reading and by collecting the gems of the most celebrated authors, the next step to take is to exercise yourself in composition. This may be done in several different ways.

(1) ANALYSING AND RECONSTRUCTING. The first method is to take some literary work and analyse it, till you have before you the bare plan upon which the author has worked. Then you should endeavour to clothe that plan in the language with which he has made it a living thing. At the end of this labour, the two compositions should be carefully compared, to see how far the one falls short of the other. This labour opens the mind, perfects the taste, and imprints upon the memory all the rules of Rhetoric and of literary composition.

(2) READING AND COMPOSING. The second method, is to take up some literary work, carefully to read several pages

of it, and then, closing the book, to endeavour to reproduce them as faithfully as you can. After the work of construction has been accomplished, the work of comparison comes in, to let you see where you have failed and where you have succeeded.

(3) OLD AUTHORS. The third method, is to take some of the old classics, such as Shakespeare, Chaucer, Spenser, &c., and to put into prose one or two pages of their works. This will enrich your language, and teach you how to express in a suitable manner the ideas that are in your mind.

TRANSLATIONS. A fourth, and most excellent method for teaching the art of Composition, is to take one of the ancient classical authors, in any language, and translate into your mother-tongue some pages of his work. Cicero adopted this plan to learn how to express himself, and assiduously translated the works of the Greek orators. Tacitus translated Thucydides, Lord Brougham, the speeches of Demosthenes, and Fénélon the works of Homer.

(4) IMITATION OF AUTHORS. This method consists in taking the plan, the images, the thoughts, and the sentiments of an author, making them your own, and reproducing them as best you are able. Thus Cicero formed himself upon Demosthenes, Virgil upon Homer, and Horace upon Pindar.

To succeed well in this method, you must (1) choose a good model; (2) fill yourself with his sentiments, thoughts, ways of expressing himself, and so penetrate yourself with his spirit, so make his matter your own, that it will seem to spring out of yourself, and not be a mere slavish imitation; (3) while imitating, you must not sink your own individuality, but take from others only that which will suit your character and the bent of your mind; (4) you must never copy, but rather try to assimilate ideas, as you do the food which you take for your sustenance.

## SECTION II.

*Proximate Preparation.*

PROXIMATE PREPARATION IN GENERAL. Preaching God's holy word, through which and by which faith comes into the souls of men, is so important a work that to accomplish it in a worthy and efficient manner, suitable preparation is necessary. For, unless this has preceded the actual delivery of that precious word, men usually cannot dispense it except in a disorderly way, without solidity, and without force. Skill in improvisation will not save even the ablest men from failing miserably from time to time, unless they labour at their discourses. "If their sermons cost them little trouble to prepare, they cost their hearers a great deal of pain to listen to them."

Moreover, by not preparing, they compromise their own dignity; they are irreverent towards the word of God; they fulfil in a negligent way their office as ambassadors of the heavenly Court, which negligence imperils the interests of their Master; and they tempt God by endeavouring to instruct His people by sermons, in which there is nothing that can instruct—no order, no clearness, no solidity.

They are most disrespectful to their audience. They gather them together, ostensibly to give them light; to feed their hungry intelligences; and to slake the thirst of their souls; but, by not preparing, they envelop them in darkness; they withhold from them the bread of life; and they do not pour into their hearts the wine that cools the heat of passion.

By conduct such as this, they incur a very grave responsibility and expose themselves to the curse of God, for "accursed are all those who do the work of God fraudulently," that is to say, negligently.

Therefore, let every one who undertakes the duties of a

preacher, imitate the example of those truly great men who had a right idea of the sanctity of their office. St. Augustine, after preaching for thirty years, did not dispense himself from the labour of preparation. "That which I have preached to you," he says, "has been sought out and discovered only at the expense of great labour: may our labour prove fruitful in you, and may our soul bless the Lord."<sup>1</sup> St. Chrysostom, on the plea that all his time was occupied in preparing his discourses, excused himself from dining with the numerous friends who invited him to their tables. St. Charles Borromeo, in spite of his almost continual exercise in dispensing the word of God, never mounted the pulpit without previous most careful preparation. St. Alphonsus, though always preaching most simply, yet always prepared, and exacted from his priests, a similar care and study.

Even pagan orators set us, in this respect, a brilliant example. Pericles never spoke in public without first carefully preparing all that he had to say, and offering up sacrifice to the gods to obtain their blessing on the oration which he was about to deliver. Cicero, notwithstanding his skill and eloquence, always deeply studied every subject of which he had to treat in public. "I never go to plead a case," he writes, "unless I have for a long time meditated upon it, and given to its consideration the greatest care."<sup>2</sup>

The conclusion to be drawn is, that the preacher must prepare his discourses, and for this end must give up all unnecessary recreation, all useless reading, all visits of mere politeness, and devote himself to his books, that he may, in a worthy manner, be able to break to his flock the bread of the divine word.

<sup>1</sup> In *Psal.* ciii.

<sup>2</sup> *De Leg.* Lib. i. 12.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### DIFFERENT WAYS OF PREPARING A DISCOURSE.

SIX WAYS OF PREPARING. There are six ways of preparing a discourse. These are : (1) to write, and learn it word for word ; (2) to write, but, in delivery, not to adhere to the word for word plan ; (3) to write a full summary containing the ideas, their order, the transitions from one to another, the movements and the affections proper to each part, the principal expressions and the most striking figures, but without attempting to adhere to the words in which all these are couched ; (4) to draw out merely the plan of the discourse, containing its divisions, its sub-divisions, and the chief proofs ; (5) not to write anything, but to content one's self with a few minutes' reflection before going into the pulpit ; (6) to learn and deliver the sermons of other preachers.

(1) WRITING AND LEARNING BY HEART. This method must be adhered to, until you have treated of most of the subjects usually preached from the pulpit ; furnished yourself with a rich store of solid doctrine ; and acquired ease in public speaking. The advantages which this method procures are so excellent, that they will be its highest recommendation. It gathers for you an abundance of matter ; perfects whatever oratorical talent you may possess ; teaches you to reflect ; and gives to you purity of style, precision, and neatness of expression.

If you do not write, you will be apt to speak inexactly,

and without order; you will become painfully prolix; you will get embarrassed, and be unable to extricate yourself from your difficulties; and even if you be gifted with talents of a superior order, you will be liable, at times, to fail miserably.

(2) TO WRITE, BUT NOT TO LEARN BY HEART. It is advisable to adopt this method as soon as it can with safety be taken up. For, the plan of writing and of learning by heart, is full of so many disadvantages that common-sense will advise its abandonment as soon as possible. It takes up a great deal of time; it fatigues you; it exposes you to failure every time that memory does not supply you with the requisite word; it takes away all life, all fire, all energy from your words, and makes you stiff and uninteresting. These inconveniences will push you on, little by little, to enfranchise yourself. This may be done by at first leaving a short passage for improvisation; then by extending it to another, and to another, till at last a whole point of the discourse can be spoken without the painful effort of saying it by heart. To enable yourself to do this, your style must be simple, not too polished, figurative, what we may describe as *literary*; for most of these ornaments will disappear in delivery. Then your manuscript should be learnt as to substance and order only, and not as to words. When you have a firm grip of the sense of it, its order, and the connection of one part with another, you will be able safely to venture upon improvisation.

(3) WRITING ONLY THE SUMMARY. This is the third method of preparing a discourse, and should be employed only by those who have at command a rich store of matter, and a facility in public speaking. The advantages arising from a discourse prepared in this manner, are that there is in the language a tone of conviction which comes from the heart; the style is more natural; the action is quite free; the words are full of life and fire. The faults of diction are

out-balanced by the fact that this method takes up less time, and is not so severe a strain upon the mental powers. Nevertheless, there are occasions when even an adept in improvisation should write his discourse; there are others when it will be sufficient for him to write only certain parts of it; and on all occasions it would be well for him to write the exordium, the peroration, and the transitions from one point to another.

(4) TO WRITE A MERE SKETCH OR PLAN. The fourth method of preparing a discourse is to sketch out the mere plan of it, containing only the divisions, the sub-divisions, and the chief proofs. This, however, is very inadequate, and will not, as a rule, be very successful. It is not respectful to the word of God. For, ordinarily speaking, very limited is the number of men who, with only such a preparation as this, can speak with anything like effect. The majority, who confine themselves to a mere sketch or plan, deliver themselves of discourses which are conspicuous for their want of solidity, their want of order, and their want of light.

(5) A FEW MOMENT'S REFLECTION. The fifth method of preparing a discourse is to confine one's self to a few moments' reflection, previously to entering the pulpit. If the preceding method is not worthy of commendation, this is deserving of the severest reprobation, as it is only one degree removed from no preparation at all. It exposes the preacher to utter failure, inasmuch as with only the merest skeleton to work upon, he will be without matter, he will speak without order, without precision, and will consequently weary and disgust the audience whose misfortune it is to have to listen to his meaningless platitudes.

(6) TO PREACH THE SERMONS OF OTHERS. The sixth method is to dispense with writing, and taking the sermons written by others, to preach them as if they were one's own.

If this is done through idleness, or vanity, or ambition, it is, of course, wrong. Moreover, it must be remembered that the literary productions of men follow the shapes of their minds. These shapes differ as much as do their bodily frames ; therefore, the mental vesture of one man will sit as ill upon another, as would the clothes with which he covers his person. Besides, all sermons are written to meet the needs of a particular audience. Hence, the sermons which would be good for one, will not suit another. One audience might be capable of deriving benefit from a sermon which would be as unsuitable to another audience, as hard bread is for the toothless gums of an infant. Again, there is something dishonourable in vesting one's self in borrowed garments, and parading before the eyes of one's fellow-men, their wealth and their finery, as if these were one's own.

But if a preacher is hard pressed for time, or if he has the talent of delivering, but not of composing, a sermon, he is excused for taking the sermons of others and using them for the benefit of his flock. Speaking of those who are good elocutionists, but not good composers, St. Augustine says : " There are certain men who can deliver well, but who cannot devise that which they have to deliver. If these take some oration that has been eloquently and wisely written by some one else, and having committed it to memory, preach it to the people, they by no means do amiss."<sup>1</sup> In choosing the sermons of others, you ought not to select the grand subjects, for these would at once betray the source whence they were taken ; but if necessity compels any one to have recourse to the industry of others for the bread with which to feed his flock, let him choose a sermon adapted to his own style of thought, and to the needs of his flock ; let him carefully study it, penetrate

<sup>1</sup> *De Doctr. Christ.* Lib. iv. 62.



himself with its thoughts and its sentiments, make these as far as possible his own, and then present them to his audience with all the energy and all the fire at his command. There is one advantage to be gained from this method of preaching, and that is, that it lops off one branch of vanity which might furnish the preacher with matter for pride and self-laudation.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### HOW TO COMPOSE A SERMON.

THE ORDER to be observed in composing a sermon is : (1) to make a good choice of a subject or theme for the sermon ; (2) to think the subject well out ; (3) to develop it ; (4) to put it in due order ; (5) carefully to revise that order or arrangement.

CHOICE OF A SUBJECT. The subject being the foundation of the whole discourse, its choice is a matter of great importance. In making this choice the preacher must not consult his own self-love, and select some theme which will easily lend itself to oratorical display. He must rather choose one that will be useful to his audience ; and among subjects that are useful, one that will be useful to the greater number of them. In his choice, he must bear in mind the bent of his own character, to discover a subject that will suit it. Lastly, he must take a particular view of the subject, and all during the composition of the discourse, keep that view well before his mind. This view must not be a merely theoretical one, but one that will lead to practical results.

THINKING OUT THE SUBJECT. By thinking out the subject, we mean the studying of it, the probing of it, the looking at it on every side, to discover in it that which will instruct, convince, touch and reform the persons to whom it is addressed. For these ends, theology must be consulted to find that which will *instruct* ; proofs must be sought out which will *convince* the reason ; sentiment must be brought into play to *touch* the heart ; and certain practices strongly

urged, practices which will help them to correct their evil habits and lead virtuous lives.

Unless the subject is thus thought out, the preacher must of necessity speak in a superficial manner; his discourse will be disjointed; his action will be cold and spiritless; he will wander about in a maze, hardly knowing either what he is saying or what he has said; and will bewilder both himself and his audience. But if he apply to it the deep thought which we counsel, he will be full of his subject; he will deliver all that he has to say upon it with a warmth which will communicate itself to his audience; his matter will be rich; and he himself will not fail to be eloquent.

To obtain this happy result, the following rules must be observed. (1) After a careful study of the subject from every point of view from which it may be looked at, (2) the preacher should read some book which treats of the matter about which he wishes to speak. This will store his mind with information; it will awaken and fertilise his imagination, and set his heart on fire with emotion. (3) After this lecture, he should make the materials collected from it the subject of his meditation before God, and endeavour to apply to himself the fruit of that meditation. (4) The thoughts suggested should, at the very moment in which they present themselves, be written down, otherwise they will escape his memory.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE SUBJECT. After meditating on the subject, and putting it in order by means of a well-digested plan, the next thing to be done is to give to it those developments of which it is susceptible. These make that which was at first hardly perceptible, increase, unfold itself, and strike the eye; they pour upon it the light of day; they adorn and beautify it till that which was only a skeleton, a mass of dry bones, stands up full of life and strength and beauty.

There are three sources whence these developments may be made. The first are: the Scriptures, the fathers, the councils; religious works; the great truths; the death and the Passion of Our Lord; the benefits of God; considerations on virtues and vices; the sacraments, and prayer. These, however, should be used only as accessories, and should be so appropriated to the subject, as to appear to be made only for it.

The second source of development is found in the rhetorical *Loci Communes*, which teach us how to make the things of which we speak stand out clear before the intelligence, by enumeration of parts, by contraries, and by circumstances. Moreover, the use of comparisons gives to our discourse clearness, interest, and attractiveness. But they add these charms to it only when they are drawn from objects well known to our hearers; when they are becoming and suitable to the pulpit; when they are short, and particularly when they are taken from history.

The third source consists in the moral details by which the preacher puts before the eyes of his hearers their obligations with respect to the subject of which he is treating, the faults by which they violate their obligations, the means to correct these faults, and the practical consequences to be drawn from his words. These developments should not be spun out, otherwise they will weary and cause disgust to the audience. Speakers must be on their guard when they possess a facility for development. They should mercilessly cut out everything that does not tend to make their words more clear and their reasoning more solid. It is by the number of their ideas, and not by the abundance of their words, that they should develop the subject on which they wish to speak.

COMPOSITION OF THE DISCOURSE. After fixing the plan, and the developments by which it is clothed with flesh and

made into a living thing, the next step to be taken is to write out all that you have thought. In this, everything depends upon the way in which you say things, rather than upon the things themselves which you say. To this manner of putting ideas before the minds of others are due the grace, the force, the dignity and the unction of your discourse. If they are badly put, that fact alone is able to strip them of all their power to instruct, to please, and to move.

Therefore, in order to succeed in saying, in the best possible way, that which you have to say, the following rules must not be lost sight of.

(1) The preacher must take up his pen and write, when he is warmed by his subject.

(2) He must pray for light and aid from Him Who gave the Apostles the command "to preach the Gospel".

(3) When even after study and prayer the heart is not warmed, it is far better to lay aside the pen, and wait for a more opportune moment. If, however, this dryness, this coldness, this apparent inability to do anything, is the result of sluggishness or of idleness, it must be resisted, and the mind be forced to work. The best way to awaken it into the requisite activity is to do two things—first to ask, "What am I going to say?" then to imagine that you are actually in the pulpit and obliged to improvise a sermon. The first will make you see precisely that which you wish to inculcate; the second will give you words to express it.

THREE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COMPOSITION. The discourse, thus reduced to writing, or, as we say, *composed*, should be marked by three characteristics; namely, *clearness*, *purity*, and *variety*. The discourse is *clear*, when it is lucid in thought and in expression, in its reasoning, and in its whole progress from the beginning to the end; it is *pure*, when it is written in conformity with the rules of grammar,

and does not transgress the canons of literary excellence ; it is *varied*, when the style is modified in accordance with the nature of the subject of which the preacher treats.

An important rule to be observed during composition, is not to allow the impulse or the warmth with which the mind is fired, to cool through an undue desire to observe all the rules of eloquence. Aim first at fixing the idea, and when once that has been done, the style can be attended to afterwards.

REVISION AND CORRECTION. When the sermon has been composed, the preacher has not finished his work with respect to it—he must again and again revise it. Unless he do this, faults will grow up in his manner of writing, just as weeds grow in a garden which is neglected. There will be faults of construction ; sentences will not be properly connected with one another ; figures will be mixed ; and expressions will be loose and formed in a slovenly manner. These imperfections must be removed ; that which is defective must be filled up ; that which is superfluous must be cut off ; that which is slovenly retouched and polished. When the sermon has been learnt, but especially after it has been delivered, many more imperfections will be seen in it. These also must be attended to, and “the work be brought back to the anvil,” as Horace says, till it becomes as nearly as possible *perfect*.

All this is very slow work, but it is work that ensures solidity, and engenders in those who submit to it, a facility and a correctness in writing—two excellent qualities—which will amply repay the labour expended in their acquisition.

HOW TO LEARN THE SERMON. When the sermon is finished, it must be committed to memory before it can be delivered. If it be well known, it will appear excellent, even though it be but mediocre in itself. Also, in consequence of being firmly gripped by the memory, it will lose even the

semblance of being learnt by heart, and will appear to be an extemporised discourse. If, however, it be but indifferently learnt, it will cause the preacher to hesitate, to repeat himself, and, perhaps, to have recourse to his manuscript. His manner will be cold, uninteresting, unnatural, just like that of a school-boy blundering through his lesson. Therefore, the sermon should be so well learnt, that the preacher may with every chance of success confidently ascend the pulpit. In fact he should know it so well as to be able to improvise during the course of its delivery. To ensure a knowledge of this kind, the sermon must be written in a methodical, logical manner, in which every idea is in its right place, is clearly connected with that which precedes, and with that which follows.

It should be divided into paragraphs, in each of which the leading idea should be underlined, and some conventional mark put in the margin, the meaning of which will aid the mind to recall the substance of the passage thus indicated.

When actually committing to memory the sermon thus written, only a part should be learnt at a time. Then the next part together with the one previously learnt. These should be repeated together, and so on till the discourse is clearly held in the mind. The whole should then be repeated before retiring to rest, and once again on the following morning. Lastly, a short time before mounting the pulpit, it should be once more carefully gone through. While repeating that which you have written, you should not be disconcerted if the actual word in your manuscript should escape your memory. If another presents itself you should use it, and pass on without letting your audience perceive that you have omitted something.

Should you, after all your labour, be unable to deliver what you have written, and your memory play you false, the only resource left is to have recourse to your manuscript, till experience shall enable you to do without it.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### SECTION I.

#### *The Sermon.*

DEFINITION. The sermon, properly so called, is defined to be: "A religious instruction, in which the preacher follows the rhetorical rules given for the composition and the delivery of an oratorical discourse".

Under the generic term *sermon*, come (1) sermons which give a consecutive course of Christian doctrine; (2) the homily; (3) the instruction; (4) an advice; (5) the conference; (6) the allocution; (7) the public lecture; (8) missions or retreats.

When the sermon is devoted to the praise of a Saint, it is called a panegyric; when it treats of a person who has recently died, it is called a funeral oration.

After these preliminary remarks, we will speak first of the sermon properly so called, which ought to be written in a style, lofty, noble, natural, clear, and adapted to the capacity of the audience before which it is to be delivered. In it there are always to be found a text, an exordium, the body of the discourse, and the peroration.

(1) THE TEXT. It is usual to preface each sermon by a text of Sacred Scripture. This text being, as it were, the thesis of the sermon which is to follow, should contain in germ, all that is to be said in the discourse. It should, moreover, have a natural relation with the subject of the sermon, and not a forced one.



If possible, the sense of the text should be *literal*, for only in panegyrics and in funeral orations is this impossible.

Lastly, it should be neither too long nor too short. If too long, it will not be retained by the audience; if too short, it will strike them as odd, singular.

(2) THE EXORDIUM. It is very important that the exordium should be composed with all care, for its end is to make the audience benevolent, attentive, and docile to that which shall be said. The success of the sermon will, consequently, often depend upon the good or the bad impression made by the opening words. Hence the advice of Cicero: "*Vestibula honesta, aditusque ad causam faciet illustres*".<sup>1</sup> Therefore, everything that might unfavourably impress the audience must be avoided. All haughtiness of demeanour; all that savours of presumption; all that betokens a worship of self, must consequently be carefully eliminated.

Moreover, there must be in the exordium those characteristic qualities required by the masters of eloquence.

It must be short, simple, clear, exact, adapted to the dispositions of the audience and to the nature of the subject.<sup>2</sup>

SHORT. In it there must be no details, no arguments, no proofs, no digressions, no accessory thoughts. It must go straight to the point about to be presented for consideration. Thus it will satisfy the audience, and avoid fatiguing them, as long exordiums invariably do.

Nevertheless it must not be too short, but a just proportion between it and the rest of the discourse should be preserved. It should be to the discourse as the head is to the body.

SIMPLE. By *simplicity* is meant the absence of figures and of oratorical movements; for, as at the beginning of a discourse, the audience are usually very quiet, unimpressed, emotionless, the language should correspond with these dispositions, and be calm, modest, peaceful. There should be

<sup>1</sup> *Orat.* i.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

in it great dignity, but little ornament ; a display of ornament would betray art, and art, if discovered, would show on the part of the preacher a desire to please rather than to convert ; to amuse and distract, rather than to set before them solid doctrine to benefit their immortal souls.

An exception may always be made when the audience is filled with the great sentiments inspired by the magnitude of the occasion, or when the circumstances are such that they call for an exordium *ex abrupto*.

CLEAR. An exordium has this most necessary quality, when with neatness, with precision, and in a way easy to understand and easy to retain, it puts the subject of the sermon before the audience.

EXACT. Written with care, precision, and up to the standard of excellence expected by the audience. This is necessary because, being cool, and as yet unimpressed by the words and the action of the preacher, they will listen with a critical temper of mind to every word of the introduction, and judge of the whole discourse by the impression which it leaves upon their intelligence.

ADAPTED TO THE AUDIENCE. This means that it should be in harmony with their sentiments, so that, hearing it, they will be pleased with it, and listen attentively to that which is put before them. For this end the preacher should labour to make it the most polished part of his discourse, to infuse into it that unction of piety which touches the heart, and that interest which captivates the imagination.

CLOSELY CONNECTED WITH THE SUBJECT. It will have this quality, if by a necessary relationship or connection, it lead up to it, and have with the subject a connection as essential as the head has with the body. If the exordium may with ease be applied to any subject whatever, or if it may be cut off without detriment to the discourse, it is evidently worthless.

To prevent exordiums from having this fault, they should be composed after the rest of the discourse ; because when one is in full possession of the whole subject, it is easy to draw from it the requisite introduction, which will then spring from the discourse as a flower does from the stalk on which it grows.

(3) THE BODY OF THE DISCOURSE. An introduction consisting of a few preparatory phrases, which lead up to the sub-divisions, if there are any, usually begins the body of the discourse. This introduction must be very short, and must quite naturally usher in the sub-divisions. No artifice must be shown in it, lest the audience should be led to think that the preacher is merely acting a part, and displaying his subtlety. The sub-divisions need not be announced before each point, but only as they come during the progress of the sermon. Sometimes, however, it is useful to announce them before each point, but they should never be mentioned in the exordium, lest their multiplicity should alarm the hearers by the prospect of an interminably long sermon.

Once the sub-divisions are announced, the preacher must occupy himself entirely with proving them. After the proofs come the application to the audience, of the truth which is established ; sentiments and oratorical movements ; then there is made a transition to the next sub-division. The same method is followed for the succeeding sub-division ; then the first part is concluded by grouping together all the sub-divisions in order to overwhelm the audience with the weight of their united force. The second part follows on the same lines, till the preacher arrives at the peroration.

(4) THE PERORATION. This part of the discourse should be most carefully studied and prepared, because it gives the final blow which brings the hearer to his knees before God, and wins him over to reduce to practice the truth set before his mental vision. Therefore, there should not be in

it anything which would give it the air of languor or of weakness.

Everything must be full of fire, passion, earnestness ; the language must be animated, the expressions figurative, and the movements rapid. It usually consists of four parts. First, a recapitulation of the various points of the discourse, and the principal reasons which are calculated to persuade. This recapitulation must be short, full of energy and of fire.

Secondly, it should contain the fruit to be derived from the discourse, the *practical conclusions* to be drawn from that which has been said, and the good resolutions which should be formed as logical consequences from these conclusions.

Thirdly, after these practical conclusions, there should follow a fervent *exhortation* which will go to the very depth of the hearers' hearts, and excite them to adopt and carry into effect those conclusions which the proofs and the reasonings have brought home to their intelligences.

Fourthly, the peroration may be brought to a close by a prayer addressed to God, or to Our Divine Lord, for grace to do that of which the reason is convinced. Also, this prayer may be made to Our Lady, or to one of the Saints to obtain his powerful intercession with God, and so move Him more readily to grant the grace of which the hearers stand in need.

Again, the skilful paraphrase of a scriptural text, is another excellent way of bringing the peroration to a close.

One last observation will not be out of place ; it is that the peroration should rarely end in an abrupt manner. This abruptness savours somewhat of theatrical effect. If done well, it makes, at times, a very deep impression ; if ill, it excites the laughter of the audience. There is often but a thin boundary line between the sublime and the ridiculous, and over that line the unskilful are sure to step.

## GENERAL PLAN OF A SERMON.

*Exordium.*

1. Text.
2. General introduction drawn from the Text.
3. Announcement of the subject.
4. Division of the subject.

*Body of the Discourse.*

- |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Particular introduction.</li> <li>2. Sub-division.</li> <li>3. First sub-division.</li> </ol> | { | <p>First proof.</p> <p>Second proof, &amp;c.</p> <p>Conclusion.</p> <p>Application.</p> <p>Sentiments.</p> <p>Transition.</p> |
|---|---|---|
4. Second and third sub-divisions—same proceeding.
  5. Conclusion of the first part, oratorical movements.
  6. Transition to the second part.
  7. Same proceeding for the second part, with transition to the peroration.

*Peroration.*

1. Recapitulation of the different parts of the discourse.
2. Practical fruit to be drawn thence.
3. Exhortation.
4. Invocation.
5. Conclusion suitable to the subject.

## SECTION II.

*A Consecutive Course of Sermons.*

By a "consecutive course" we understand a methodical and successive treatment either of the whole body of Christian doctrine, or of some particular branch of it.

**IMPORTANCE OF SUCH A COURSE.** It is the most useful, because it makes religion, as a whole, known to the faithful—its history, its dogmas, its morality. It does this with order, and thereby puts them in the way of understanding all instructions; the motives and the object of their belief; and enables them to explain and defend the faith that is in them. It is the most necessary. Because it is the only way of solidly instructing the people in their religion, and of letting them see the connection of its various parts with one another. This cannot be done by preaching in a desultory sort of way, first, upon a subject of morality, then upon a point of Church History, then upon some dogmatic question, and so on. For religion is a science, and consequently must be taught with method and order, beginning with principles and then tracing those principles through the whole body of doctrine, showing how it grows, and is developed into that which we call the "Christian System". It is the most interesting. From the fact of a consecutive course of doctrine being so rare, this method will have the merit of novelty; it will excite curiosity, and awake attention. Religion, as a whole, being set before the faithful and unfolded little by little, will present to them a picture, the charm of which will far excel any advantage that may be had from detached sermons. Moreover, the discourses being connected, one preparing the way for another, will excite the desire to hear the next, and thus keep alive their interest and their willingness to learn.

**HOW TO MAKE A CONSECUTIVE COURSE.** The preacher will find this consecutive course already marked out for him in the Catechism of the Council of Trent. Matter to treat of will there be found in abundance, as well as in the theological manuals, which every priest has in his hands. Two qualities are requisite in this course, clearness and order. Order is necessary, so that every question may be treated of

in its right place, the matter be connected, the manner methodical and logical. Clearness is necessary to make the subjects treated of thoroughly well understood by the audience, for it will bring it within the range of their intelligence.

The only exordium requisite in discourses of this kind, is one which in a few words will recall the heads of the preceding instruction, and show either its connection with or its bearing upon what you are about to say. In the course of the sermon, whenever an opportunity for so doing presents itself, there should be introduced a few brief reflections calculated to nourish piety, to reanimate faith, and to reform morals. The peroration of each discourse may consist of an animated exhortation to practise the virtues suggested by the subject of which the preacher has been treating.

Whenever a great solemnity occurs, it is well to interrupt the course, and to turn the thoughts of your flock to the consideration of it. They will return to the methodical course with even greater zest than if it had been pursued without any interruption.

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### SECTION III.

#### *The Homily.*

DEFINITION. A homily is a simple and pious explanation, a sort of paraphrase of the Gospel, or of the Epistle, from which explanation or paraphrase moral reflections are drawn for the edification of the hearers. It was thus that the Bishops preached in the early Church. The advantages of the homily over the sermon recommended it to them. It is easier to write than sermons are; a greater number and a greater variety of observations both moral and doctrinal can be made in it, than in the sermon, which is restricted to one or two points.

These observations, resting on the word of God, have greater weight and authority than the preacher's reasonings in a set sermon. Being devoted to the consideration of several truths which are quite independent of one another, the fruit of the discourse is not so easily lost by a few moments of inattention on the part of the hearer, as it is in a sermon, in which, if the thread be lost, the whole fruit also will be lost. Added to this is the fact, that homilies, as a rule, possess more attraction for the people than sermons do.

Though easier to compose than sermons, they yet require a great deal of serious preparation, otherwise they will be cold and insipid.

First, the text must be studied, and the passages on which the preacher wishes to insist, most carefully marked; for he must not dwell upon each verse. In this study he must observe four things: (1) the literal, (2) the moral and the spiritual sense, (3) the practical applications, and (4) analogous exhortations.

**LITERAL.** To explain the literal sense, mark the time, the occasion, and the other circumstances of the facts, or of the maxims contained in the text; explain difficult words and the customs of the Old Law. If it is a parable, explain its spirit and its purpose. If the text admits of it, join to these explanations dogmatic reflections. As a rule, never enter into any critical discussions, unless, of course, these seem to be required by the subject.

**MORAL.** To explain the moral and the spiritual sense, there must be selected simple, natural, and pious considerations which are adapted to the needs of the audience. Forced and allegorical considerations must be avoided.

**PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS.** To make these effective, they must be adapted to the capacity of the hearers, to their needs, and to their dispositions.



**EXHORTATIONS.** These must be analogous, or in keeping with the subject. They should be full of life, of earnestness, of pathos; and be accompanied by affections and pious movements.

**FOUR WAYS OF PREACHING HOMILIES:—**

**FIRST WAY.** To reduce the whole Gospel of the day to one subject, with the usual divisions. This cannot be done with every Gospel, but when it can, it is an excellent method, and catches the attention more surely, perhaps, than does any other way of making the homily.

**THE SECOND WAY.** The second way is to take from the Gospel three or four verses relative to a vice or a virtue, and treat them one after another as various points of an ordinary sermon.

**THE THIRD WAY** is to make two points in the homily. In the first, the whole Gospel of the day is explained; in the second, moral and practical consequences are deduced from it, and applied to the necessities of the audience.

**THE FOURTH WAY.** In this fourth way the preacher explains each verse, as he goes on, drawing from it the lesson which it teaches, and making to his audience the application which it suggests. The inconvenience of this method is, that it does not allow him to penetrate deeply into any of the lessons taught by the different verses, nor to move the hearts of his audience, nor to do anything more than just skim over the various thoughts suggested to him.

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**SECTION IV.**

*The Prone (πρὸν αὐόν = before the Temple or the Sanctuary) or Instruction.*

**THE PRONE.** This is the name applied to the instruction which used heretofore to be given in the nave of the

Church, to the Catechumens, and to the faithful generally. It signifies: (1) the printed instructions of the Ritual, which instructions were ordered by the Bishops to be read upon certain days during the year; (2) a generic term for any instruction during the parochial mass; (3) taken in its strict sense *prone* is a short, simple instruction, made on Sunday during the parochial mass, upon some dogmatic or some moral subject. It differs from the homily, in that it is on a detached subject, and does not contemplate the paraphrasing or the explaining of the Gospel.

It differs from the sermon, in that it does not make use of the rules given for an oratorical discourse; it is the simple language of a father to his children. Its utility is self-evident: it is adapted to the capacity of the poor and uncultured; it spreads religious knowledge among the people; it does not divide the attention among several subjects, as the homily does; it throws more light upon the single subject of which it treats.

**RULES FOR MAKING THE PRONE.** First, the prone requires several days of very careful *preparation*, for if it is to be worth anything, there must be in it clearness of instruction, details of morality, and the unction of piety. These qualities cannot be *improvised*, as words can. Therefore, the necessity for careful preparation, out of which these qualities spring, is self-evident.

Secondly, the prone must be employed to treat of all the duties of a Christian life. During the course of the year, it must go through these various duties and set them before the eyes of the people. The subjects which it must call to their special attention are: (1) the last things, the hideous nature of vice, the beauty of virtue, and the happiness engendered by it; (2) shunning the occasions of sin; (3) the frequenting of the Sacraments; (4) charity towards our

neighbour ; (5) reference of all our actions to a supernatural end ; (6) the reformation of vices, &c.

Thirdly, the prone does not need an exordium nor a text, but may be begun straightway after reading the Gospel. There may be divisions in it, but they are not necessary. The proofs should be simple and solid. Examples and comparisons should abound in it, but great oratorical movements are out of place. Instead of these, let there be clear explanations, urgent exhortations to correct vice, and moral details in which each will recognise himself. The style should be natural and flowing, so clear that the most ignorant may understand, and so popular that, while satisfying the meanest intelligence, it may never descend beneath that dignity which is due to the Chair of Truth.

The prone is usually brought to an end by pointing out certain practices of piety, and certain acts of virtue, for the sanctification of the coming week.

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#### SECTION V.

##### *Advices, Warnings, Notices.*

These addresses, when given with zeal by a pastor eager to lay hold of everything that will advance his flock in piety and holiness, are often more advantageous than either sermons or instructions. They are listened to with greater attention ; they make a deeper impression ; and the people afterwards usually speak of them among themselves and in their own homes.

To deliver these warnings, advices, notices in such a way as to make them productive of fruit, the preacher before giving them, must reflect upon that which he wishes to say, and for that purpose should put to himself the following questions : (1) " Is it worth while giving this warning, this

advice, this notice? (2) Is there ground for hoping that it will be well received? (3) How must I measure my language that it may be just, exact, and clear? (4) If I were in the place of my people, in what way should I like these words to be addressed to me?"

If he put to himself these questions, he will save himself from ever giving these warnings, &c., when he is moved by passion. Moreover, the preacher should avoid too frequently giving them. They should be only now and then addressed to his parishioners. The occasions on which to deliver these short addresses are: the approach of Lent or of Advent; the coming of some great feast; cases of sudden death; times of affliction, of pestilence, &c.

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#### SECTION VI.

##### *Conferences.*

This is a species of preaching of which we have not, in England, much experience. Our ideas of it are derived from the printed conferences of such men as Lacordaire and Ravignan—long discourses on the Church, on family life, the sacraments—lectures, we might call them, rather than sermons. But this is not the right notion of the word "conference".

A conference is an instruction in which a priest puts to the preacher, questions concerning religion, and the preacher answers them. This method was used from the earliest ages, as we see from Church History, and from the writings of Cassian. In fact, the "Conferences" of this ascetic will give an excellent idea of the conference, and furnish models well worthy of imitation.

The advantages of this method of teaching are numerous. The people are very fond of it, and crowd to hear it. It enables a preacher to explain in a familiar way, adapted to the

capacity of the people, the most difficult parts of dogma and of morality ; to descend to details impossible in other kinds of preaching, faults in confessing sins, obligation to restore, to be reconciled with enemies, &c. ; also, it is an excellent means for touching sinners and moving them to repentance, because the preacher can, whenever it pleases him, introduce the last great truths, to work their marvellous effects upon the heart ; finally, it is a pleasant change, and helps to vary the usual method of preaching, by giving the people something new, which prevents the sermon from becoming wearisomely monotonous.

**RULES FOR THE CONFERENCE.** (1) Though the conference is a more familiar discourse than the sermon or the instruction, yet it does not suffer the introduction of joking, of puerile expressions, or of anything that would cause laughter. This kind of pleasantry takes away from the preacher both unction and authority, from the people, recollection and piety.

(2) No objections should be raised except those which can easily be grasped by the people, otherwise they will retain only the objection and not the answer to it, and thus it will be a danger to their faith.

(3) The way in which the conference is opened and conducted, is as follows : the preacher prefaces that which he is going to say, by a text relative to the matter in hand ; he develops it, so as to lead to the subject, unless the conference is one of a series, and then the recapitulation of the preceding one will suffice for an introduction ; next, he proposes the subject for discussion, divides it into two or three points, and then asks the interlocutor, with all freedom to address to him questions which will put the subject in the clearest light before the audience.

**DUTIES OF THE INTERLOCUTOR.** (1) He must address to the preacher only the questions agreed upon beforehand.

(2) These questions must not be put in a dry way, but, resuming what has been said in the exordium, and approving either that exordium or the answer given, the interlocutor should put his question in so clear a light that each person present may, without difficulty, seize it.

(3) He must, as far as possible, propose his questions in the form of cases of conscience.

(4) He should frequently manifest his desire for instruction, for a knowledge of the truth; after the answer has been given, he should repeat it; say that he has completely understood it; and admit that he has been vanquished.

(5) His questions should be made seasonably, according as they are introduced by the subject, and be so bound together that when united they will form a consecutive discourse.

(6) He may season his questions with some witty remark which will awaken attention.

DUTIES OF HIM WHO IS GIVING THE CONFERENCE. (1) He must repeat with great exactness the question proposed; explain it to the audience, if he thinks that they have not quite caught all its import, and then give his answer. This should be short, clear, victorious, peremptory. He must explain it; and prove it by the Fathers, or by the Scripture, or by reason. To this explanation and proof he must join holy affections, pious and vivid movements.

(2) After giving his answer, he must ask the interlocutor whether he has understood his reply, praise his penetration, and encourage him to put further questions.

(3) His style must be sustained; less familiar than the catechism; not so lofty as the sermon; but never slipshod.

(4) Lastly, he draws from the questions of which he has treated, some practical conclusions; shows to the faithful the obligation under which they lie of carrying them into effect; and encourages them to put them in practice.

These conferences should not be held regularly, for then they would not have so much interest. It is best to confine them to certain parts of the year, such as Lent and Advent.

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SECTION VII.

*Allocutions.*

An allocution is a short address made to some one, and is usually of a complimentary character. It does not need an exordium, nor a division, nor a peroration ; there should not be in it any grand oratorical movements, because the time during which the allocution lasts is so short, that these would be ridiculous.

ALLOCATION TO A BISHOP. If the allocution is addressed to a Bishop on his entrance into the parochial church during the time of visitation, the style should be careful, polished, graceful, delicate.

The discourse should be short. The praise given should not be lavishly bestowed, but with that cautious reserve which does not offend against either modesty or good taste.

The allocution should consist (1) of an expression of joy at the coming of his Lordship, and (2) of a brief account of the religious state of the parish ; (3) a hint at the abuses to be corrected.

ALLOCATION TO THE PEOPLE. When this is made to prepare them for a ceremony, for a feast, for the reception of a sacrament, the fulfilment of a duty, &c., the preacher must say little, but that little must go straight to the heart. The language should be tender, animated, easy, natural, full of force and of unction. The allocution should contain : (1) an exposition of the motives which show the necessity for, the importance, and the advantages of that which is recom-

mended ; (2) an indication of the means to carry it into effect ; (3) the way to accomplish it.

ALLOCUTION TO FELICITATE THE AUDIENCE. The language ought to be full of heart, full of warmth. The matter of it should be : (1) praise for what they have done ; (2) an expression of the hope of a still greater fruit.

ALLOCUTION TO EXPLAIN ANYTHING, such as some point of religion, a ceremony of the Church, examination of conscience, a prayer, a verse of a hymn, &c. There is need of much more simplicity in these matters than in any of the preceding cases. It ought to be an elevated sort of conversation—perfectly clear, entering into the minutest details, so as to put the subject within reach of the feeblest intelligence.

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#### SECTION VIII.

##### *Public Lectures.*

We here take the word *lecture* in its literal meaning, signifying a *reading*. This will sufficiently explain what a reading is. It is made use of only occasionally, and at certain seasons of the year, when the preacher is hard pressed for time, and has not leisure to prepare his usual weekly instruction. These lectures, first of all, give variety to the people who have to listen year after year to the same voice ; and, in the next place, they make a vivid impression on the uncultured when these latter see that it is not their pastor that condemns this vice and this abuse, but the book written by some learned and eminent man, who evidently is of the same opinion as their ordinary teacher.

To make these readings profitable, the following rules must be observed. (1) For reading, choose books which are clear, simple, adapted to the capacity and the needs of the hearers ; prepare the reading, omitting all that is either



unsuitable or too difficult to be comprehended by the people ; (2) read these books as nearly as possible in the tone in which you would *speak* them ; (3) make short reflections upon that which is most pointed in the work ; (4) do not read for too long a time ; men soon weary of even an excellently well-read piece of eloquence ; therefore be short, and the lecture will do good.

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## SECTION IX.

*Missions and Retreats.*

These are usually held in Lent or in Advent ; but also during the year they are given in many parishes and in religious houses. They consist in a consecutive course of instructions or of sermons, all tending to one end—a reformation of life and an amendment of morals.

They are begun : (1) by setting forth the importance of the retreat, and the way of deriving advantage from it ; (2) the importance of salvation ; the necessity for a true conversion, and, in what that true conversion consists ; (3) sin, its malice and its effects ; (4) the last four things ; (5) dispositions for confession, namely, contrition, firm purpose of amendment, integrity in confession, *i.e.*, acknowledging *all* the sins which can be recollected ; false shame which has not the courage to be frank and outspoken ; general confession ; flight of occasions ; delay of conversion.

Passing from these subjects to the virtues and the vices, those who give retreats speak of the love of God, charity towards our neighbour, love of enemies, the pardon of injuries, restitution, patience in afflictions. Then they treat of the vices, cursing, drunkenness, &c. After completing their course upon these subjects, they next take up those which treat of the means to persevere in virtue. These means

are: prayer, the use of the sacraments, devotion to the Blessed Virgin, &c. Finally, they set before their hearers the dangers of a relapse into sin; means to prevent or to repair any such mishap; perseverance, its obligation and the means to secure it.

Properly to treat these subjects, the preacher must deeply meditate upon them; speak a language which all can understand; be solid in proofs and reasons; strong and vehement in oratorical movements.

Passion or pathos enters into all the discourses of a retreat. Also the preacher may use all the great rhetorical figures,—supposition, apostrophe, interrogation, and in one word, whatever can strike the imagination, touch the heart, and move the will, finds its place in discourses of this kind.

Various kinds of religious exercises are made use of during retreats. These are: conferences on the proofs of religion, examination of conscience, the duties of one's state of life, and the faults most common in the parish. To these are added the singing of hymns; acts of reparation to the Most Holy Sacrament; to the Blessed Virgin: and finally, the erection of the Mission Cross.

## CHAPTER XIX.

### ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

#### SECTION I.

##### *Articles.*

As one of the best means for securing a clear and correct English style is an accurate knowledge of English Grammar, it will not, we think, be out of place here, to devote one chapter of this little work, to a brief consideration of the rules which govern the use of the nine parts of speech of which our language is composed; and to an equally brief consideration of the faults which are but too commonly committed against each of them.

We will begin, then, with the articles, and examine each in its turn—the substantive, the pronoun, the adjective, the adverb, the preposition, the conjunction, the interjection, and the verb.

Our authority for all that we shall say, rests upon a very fair selection from the most approved English Grammarians, among whom we would specially mention, Gould Brown, Dr. R. Louth, L. Murray, Angus, and that excellent grammatical critic, Washington Moon, whose works we most cordially recommend to the attentive perusal of every one who wishes to write with accuracy and correctness, his own mother tongue.

ARTICLES. (1) *A* must be used instead of *an*, whenever the following word begins with a consonant.

“ My attendance was to make me *an* happier man.”—*Spectator*, No. 480.

“ Of two or more words joined by *an* hyphen.”—*Blair's Grammar*, p. 7.

“ Such holy drops her tresses steep'd  
Tho' 'twas *an* hero's eye that weep'd.”

—*Scott*.

Say: a happier man; a hyphen; a hero.

(2) Articles should be used as often as the sense requires that they should be used, that is to say, as often as in a sentence there is the notion of plurality.

“ The young and old men.”—*Goldsmith*.

“ The Apostles' or Nicene Creed.”—*Book of Common Prayer*, p. 119.

“ The figurative and literal sense.”—*Jameson's Rhetoric*.

Say: The young and the old men.

The Apostles' or the Nicene Creed.

The figurative and the literal sense.

(3) When articles are not needed, they should be omitted; their insertion, in this case, very often perverts the sense.

“ The Negroes are all the descendants of Africans.”—*Morse's Geography*.

“ A sybarite was applied as a term of reproach to a man of dissolute manners.”—*Idem. Ancient Geography*, p. 4.

“ The eternal clamour of a selfish and a factious people.”—*Brown's Estimate*.

Say: Are all descendants.

Sybarite was applied.

Of a selfish and factious.

(4) Without gross impropriety, the definite article cannot be used for the indefinite one, nor *vice versâ*; the one is to be preferred to the other, according as it better suits the sense.

“To enable us to avoid the too frequent repetition of the same word.”—*Burke's Grammar*, p. 52.

“In this case the ellipsis of the last article would be improper.”—*L. Murray's Grammar* (1), 218.

“These remarks may serve to show the great importance of the proper use of the article.”—*Lowth's Grammar*, p. 12.

Say : A too frequent repetition.

An ellipsis.

A proper use.

## SECTION II.

### *Substantives.*

1. The plural of substantives is formed by adding either *s* or *es* to the singular, as book, *books*; ship, *ships*.

2. All singular substantives ending with a vowel preceded by another vowel, as *bee*, *lie*, *foe*, form the plural by the addition of *s*, as *bees*, *lies*, *foes*.

But words ending in *quy*, change *y* into *ies*, as *colloquy*, *colloquies*; *soliloquy*, *soliloquies*.

3. Substantives ending in *y* preceded by a consonant, form the plural by changing *y* into *i* and adding *es*, as *fly*, *flies*; *ally*, *allies*; *city*, *cities*; *colony*, *colonies*.

4. Substantives ending in open *o*, preceded by a consonant, form the plural by the addition of *es*, as *calico*, *calicoes*; *innuendo*, *innuendoes*; *virago*, *viragoes*; *negro*, *negroes*.

5. The following substantives in *f*, change *f* into *v* and add *es* to form the plural: *Sheaf*, *sheaves*; *leaf*, *leaves*; *loaf*, *loaves*; *beef*, *beeves*; *thief*, *thieves*; *calf*, *calves*; *half*, *halves*; *elf*, *elves*; *shelf*, *shelves*; *self*, *selves*; *wolf*, *wolves*.

Three other substantives in *fe*, form their plural in the same way: *Life*, *lives*; *knife*, *knives*; *wife*, *wives*.

The following form their plural by adding *s* only: *Chief*, *handkerchief*, *mischief*, *belief*, *relief*, *brief*, *fief*, *grief*, *oaf*,

waif, coif, gulf, hoof, roof, proof, woof, calif, turf, scarf, dwarf, wharf, fife, strife, safe.

Nouns in *ff*, form their plural by adding *s* only: Skiffs, stuffs, gaffs.

6. The following substantives form their plurals in an exceptional manner: Man, *men*; woman, *women*; child, *children*; brother, *brethren* (for the same body), *brothers* (for members of the same family); ox, *oxen*; goose, *geese*; foot, *feet*; tooth, *teeth*; louse, *lice*; mouse, *mice*; die, *dice* or *dies*; penny, *pence* or *pennies*; pea, *pease* or *peas*.

When any of the foregoing words enters into composition with other words, it is the latter word that takes the plural form, which form follows the fashion of the word itself, as foster-child, *foster-children*, &c.

7. When forming the plural of compound words, it is the principal word, rather than the adjunct, that takes the plural termination, as fathers-in-law, knights-errant.

There are many more exceptions for the formation of the plural, but let that which we have given suffice. Those who wish to thoroughly study the matter, must consult the *Grammar of English Grammars*.

8. The possessive case of substantives is formed, in the singular, by adding to the nominative the letter *s*, preceded by an apostrophe; and in the plural, when the nominative ends in *s*, by adding an apostrophe only, thus: The boy's hat was blown off; the boys' hats were blown off.

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### SECTION III.

#### *Pronouns.*

A pronoun is a word which takes the place of a noun or substantive, as: "The boy loves *his* book; *he* has long les-

sons ; and he learns *them* well". That word for which the pronoun stands is called the *antecedent*.

There are in our language fifty-six pronouns ; twenty-four of these are pronouns properly so called ; thirty-two are but variations of these.

They may be divided into three classes, personal, relative, and interrogative. As it is chiefly in the relative pronouns that mistakes are made both by writers and by speakers, we will confine our remarks to them.

These relative pronouns are : " Who, which, what (equal to, that which), that, and as" ; to these we add the compounds, " Whichever, whoever, whatever, whichever, whosoever, whatsoever ".

1. The pronouns, *who*, *which*, *what*, should follow as closely as possible their antecedents.

" Theologians apply a variety of *epithets* to divine grace, *which* serve to bring out clearly before our minds the multifarious ways in which Almighty God makes use of it to move and to influence the souls of men."

In this sentence the relative *which* is wrongly placed. The sentence would read better, if it were thus worded : " Theologians apply to divine grace a variety of epithets *which*," &c., because the antecedent is not *divine grace*, but *epithets*, and therefore the relative should be, if possible, next to it.

2. If it is not possible thus to bring the relative into juxtaposition with its antecedent, that antecedent ought to be repeated with the relative.

" His career had hitherto, with little interruption, been prosperous ; and it was only in adversity, in adversity which seemed without hope or resource, *in adversity which* would have overwhelmed even men celebrated for strength of mind, that his real greatness could be shown."—*Macaulay. Frederic the Great.*

3. When, in the progress of a sentence, we pass from the *affirmative* to the *negative* form, or from the *negative* to the *affirmative*, the subject or nominative is mostly resumed. Also, when there is, in the course of a sentence, a change of mood or of tense.

*From affirmative to negative.* "He was a man *who* tenderly loved his friends, and *who* did not think it becoming to be rude even to his enemies."

*Change of tense or of mood.* "Those *who* had injured him and *who* were afraid of his majesty, he ever tried to conciliate."

"Even in countries *which* had a natural literature, and *which* could boast of names greater than those of Racine, of Molière," &c.—*Macaulay. Frederic the Great.*

"The amputation was skilfully performed, and *it* saved the man's life."

4. Instead of the relative *who*, *which*, *whom*, the relative *that* is used, in the following instances :—

(1) After adjectives of the superlative degree, when the relative clause is restrictive.

"He was the first *that* came."

"He was the fittest person *that* could be found."

"The Greeks were the greatest reasoners *that* ever appeared."

(2) After the adjective *same*, when the relative clause is restrictive.

"The same observations (which) that have been made respecting the effect of the article and (the) participle, appear to be applicable to the pronoun and (the) participle."—*Murray's Grammar*, p. 193.

(3) After the antecedent *who*.

"Who *that* is a sincere friend would act thus?"

(4) After two or more antecedents which require a relative adapted to persons and to things.



"He spoke much of the men and the things *that* he had seen."

"Either a person or a thing *that* ought to be made known."

(5) After an unlimited antecedent, which the relative clause is designed to restrict.

"Thoughts *that* breathe, and words that burn."

(6) After antecedents introduced by the phrases *it is, it was*.

"It is I that broke the pane of glass."

"It is he that assisted John to rise."

"It was he that stole the ring."

5. Relative pronouns must never be employed to represent *adjectives*, unless they either are pronominal adjectives, or are taken abstractedly.

Moreover, the relative *which*, never represents an indicative assertion.

Hence it is not correct to say: "Be *attentive*, without *which* you will learn nothing".

Nor is it correct to say: "The man *opposed* me, *which* was to be expected".

Say rather: "Be *attentive*, for without attention you will learn nothing".

"The man *opposed* me, as was to be expected."

6. Pronouns must agree with their antecedents, both in gender and in number. Hence the following sentences are wrong:—

"They were judged every man according to *their* works" (his works).—*Apocal.* xx. 13.

"You are *they* that justify yourselves" (themselves).—*St. Luke* xvi. 15.

"Turning away *every one* of you from your iniquities" (his).—*Acts* iii. 26.

"Lay up for *yourselves* treasures in heaven, for where thy

treasure is, there will thy heart be also" (your).—*St. Matth.* vi. 20.

"*Each* of the sexes should keep within *its* particular bounds, and content *themselves* with the advantages of *their* particular districts." Instead of "*themselves*" and "*their*," we should say, "*itself*" and "*its*".

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#### SECTION IV.

##### *Adjectives.*

"An adjective is a part of speech which denotes quality, situation, quantity, number, form, tendency, or whatever else may distinguish the thing spoken of."

There are six classes of adjectives: "Common, proper, numeral, pronominal, participial, and compound".

(1) Common adjectives denote either quality or situation, *e.g.*, good, bad; north, south.

(2) Proper adjectives are those which are formed from proper names, *e.g.*, English, Irish, Scotch.

(3) Numeral adjectives express a definite number, *e.g.*, one, two, three, &c.

(4) Pronominal adjectives are those which may either accompany their nouns or represent them understood, *e.g.*, "*All* join the chase, but *few* the triumph share," *Lord Byron, Childe Harold*, i. 40. This means, *All men* and *few men*.

(5) A participial adjective is one that has the form of a participle, but rejects the notion of time, *e.g.*, "An *exciting* adventure".

(6) A compound adjective is one that consists of two, or of more words joined either by a hyphen or solidly, *e.g.*, heaven-kissing, four-footed, threshold, ladylike.

PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES. The following words are per-

haps all that belong to this class : Else, each, either, every, neither, one, that, this. These are always singular.

The following pronominal adjectives are always plural, with the exception, perhaps, of the word "*many*" : Both, divers, few, fewer, fewest, many, several, sundry, these, those.

The remainder, like our common adjectives, are applicable to nouns of either number : All, any, certain, else, enough, every, former, first, latter, last, little, less, least, many, more, most, much, no, none, other, own, only, same, what, whatever, whatsoever, which, whichever, whichsoever. Out of the foregoing pronominal adjectives, the following are sometimes used adverbially : All, meaning *totally* ; any, for *in any degree* ; else, for *otherwise* ; enough, for *sufficiently* ; first, for *in the first place* ; last, for *in the last place* ; little, for *in a small degree* ; less, for *in a smaller degree* ; least, for *in the smallest degree* ; much, for *in a great degree* ; only, for *singly, merely, barely* ; what, for *in what degree* ; other, used as an alternative to *somehow*.

The following sometimes so abstractedly suggest the idea of quantity, that in dictionaries they are set down as substantives : All, enough, little, much, more, less.

Else, every, only, no, none, are definitive words which we have thought proper to call pronominal adjectives, though only the last (none) can here, with propriety, be made to represent its nominative understood.

COMPARATIVE OF ADJECTIVES. The comparative of adjectives is not formed by adding "*er*" to the positive form, nor "*est*" for the superlative, except in *monosyllabic* words, and in *dissyllabic* words which have a smooth termination.

Hence the following superlatives are wrong :—

"Four of the ancientest, soberest, discreetest of the brethren choosen for the occasion shall regulate it".—*Locke. On Church Government.*

The superlatives should be, "the most ancient, the most sober, the most discreet".

"I shall be named among the famousest of woman."—*Milton. Samson Agonistes.*

The superlative should be "the most famous".

"The Tiber, the notedest of the rivers of Italy."—*Littleton's Dictionary.*

The superlative should be, "the most noted of the rivers of Italy".

#### SECTION V.

##### *Improprieties in the Use of the Preceding Pronominal Adjectives.*

All. It must be borne in mind that this is not a partitive adjective. It represents the *unity* of a certain number of individual things. Hence it is incorrect to say :—

"All *of* us were present."

"All *of* you participated in the act."

"All *of* them received a share of the booty."

Say rather :—

"We were all present."

"You all participated in the act."

"They all received a share of the booty."

Alone. This means, "solitary, by one's self". Hence if we say : "He alone did it," we really express the fact that nobody was present when he performed the act. The proper word to use is "*only*".

Hence, instead of saying : "Who can forgive sins but God alone?" the correct phrase would be, "Who can forgive sins, but God only?"

Both. This word means "the two together". Therefore, it is incorrect to say :—

"He gave him both *of* the books."

"He admired both *of* the churches."

"Both *of* the men were present."

Say rather :—

"He gave him both the books."

"He admired both the churches."

"Both the men were present."

Each. This word implies "*oneness*". Therefore, it is incorrect to say :—

"Each *one* of them held a sword."

"Each *one* of us must pray."

"Each *one* of you shall have a reward."

Say rather :—

"Each of them held a sword."

"Each of us must pray."

"Each of you shall have a reward."

Either. The meaning of this word is "*the one of two*," not *both*.

Hence it is not proper to say :—

"There was a lamp on *either* side of the gate."

"A Lifeguardsman stood on *either* side of the king."

"There were trees on *either* side of the river."

Say rather :—

"There was a lamp on *each* side of the gate."

"A Lifeguardsman stood on *each* side of the king."

"There were trees on *each* side of the river."

Else. This word is equivalent to the Latin word "*alius*"—other ; it should therefore be followed by "*than*," not by "*but*".

"They did nothing else *but* drink."

"They had nothing else *but* potatoes."

"I saw no one else *but* him."

Say rather :—

"They did nothing else *than* drink."

"They had nothing else *than* potatoes."

“ I saw no one else *than* him.”

Every. This applies to the singular only ; therefore it is not correct to say :—

“ Every one of them did *their* best.”

“ Every one of us drank *their* fill.”

“ Every one of you saw *your* handiwork.”

Say rather :—

“ Every one of them did *his* best.”

“ Every one of us drank *his* fill.”

“ Every one of you saw *his* handiwork.”

Few. This word is applied to *number* ; the word *less* to *quantity*. Hence we should never say :—

“ There could not have been *less* than five thousand persons present.”

“ He had no *less* than ten children.”

“ He received no *less* than forty letters.”

Say rather :—

“ There could not have been *fewer* than,” &c.

“ He had no *fewer* than,” &c.

“ He received no *fewer* than,” &c.

Half. As this word means “ the one of two ” it is incorrect to say : One half. *One* is redundant.

“ He divided the apple into two, giving *one* half to John and the other to William ” ; say : “ giving half to John and half to William ”.

Less. This word is applied to quantity, bulk, and not to number. We should not say : “ There could not have been *less* than thirty guests,” but “ *fewer* than,” &c.

Only. This is used adverbially ; it is a word that is scarcely ever found in its right place. Its proper position is either immediately before, or immediately after the word which it qualifies.

“ I only had two cups of tea.”

“ He only wore the kilt when in Scotland.”

"The Jews were only allowed to build one temple."

Say rather :—

"I had *only two* cups of tea."

"He wore the kilt *only when in Scotland*."

"The Jews were allowed to build *only one* temple."

Not only, but also. These words are corresponsive, and therefore they should be placed immediately before the words which they qualify. This, however, is not often the case ; for "*not only*" shares the fate of *only*, in being nearly always put in its wrong place.

"Not *only* is the verb wrong here, but (also) *the sequence of events*."

"He *not only frequented* theatres, but *concert halls*, and other places of amusement."

"He *not only drank* port, but sherry, burgundy, champagne, and beer."

Say rather :—

"Not *only the verb* is wrong here, but *also the sequence of tenses* (is wrong).

"He frequented *not only theatres*, but (also) *concert halls*, and other places of amusement."

"He drank *not only port*, but (also) sherry, burgundy, champagne, and beer."

#### SECTION VI.

##### *Adverbs.*

An adverb is defined to be "a word added to a verb, a participle, an adjective, or to another adverb". It expresses time, place, degree, manner.

"He *studied diligently*."

"A man *rapidly rising* in his profession."

"The doctor is an *exceedingly amiable* man."

"He sings *remarkably well*."

In the following sentence, there are adverbs expressing time, place, degree, and manner : “ Cyril is *now here*, studying *very diligently* ”.

1. The position of the adverb is either immediately before or immediately after the word which it qualifies.

2. To use an *adjective*, instead of an adverb, with an active verb is a gross violation of grammar.

3. Instead of adverbs, adjectives are, however, used with intransitive verbs. An excellent rule for determining whether an adjective or an adverb should be used, is to see whether the verb “*to be*” can be substituted for the intransitive verb. If the verb “*to be*” can take its place, then the *adjective* should be used instead of the adverb.

(1) “ He scourged his slave most unmercifully.”

“ He thought out the question most thoroughly.”

“ He ate of the viands set before him most heartily.”

What did the person spoken of in the preceding examples do *unmercifully*, *heartily*, *thoroughly* ?

He *scourged*, *thought*, *ate*. Therefore the adverb should be placed as near as possible to these words, thus :—

“ He *unmercifully scourged* his slave.”

“ He *most thoroughly thought out* the question.”

“ He *ate most heartily* of the viands set before him.”

(2) “ Agreeable to this rule, the vowel has two sounds.”

“ All *of* which is *abominable* false.”—*Barclay's Works*,

iii. 43.

“ He acted splendid and sang most beautiful.”

Say rather :—

“ Agreeably to this rule,” &c.

“ All which is abominably false.”

“ He acted splendidly, and sang most beautifully.”

(3) “ That incense smells sweetly.”

“ That dog smells disagreeably.”

“ That boy looks coldly.”



Say rather :—

“ That incense smells (or is) sweet.”

“ That dog smells (or is) disagreeable.”

“ That boy looks (or is) cold.”

(4) “ He preferred *rather* to die *than* to be guilty of the dishonourable act.”

“ This is suitable *rather* to comedy *than* to tragedy.”

“ His act is to be attributed *rather* to madness *than* to design.”

In these examples the adverb *rather*, should not be separated from the corresponsive *than*.

Say rather :—

“ He prefers to die *rather than*,” &c.

“ This is suitable to comedy *rather than*,” &c.

“ His act is to be attributed to madness *rather than*,” &c.

## SECTION VII.

### *Prepositions.*

A preposition is a word used to express some relation of different things or of different thoughts to each other. It is generally placed before a noun or a pronoun.

Prepositions are often wrongly employed.

“ A substantive makes sense *of* itself.” This should be “ *by* itself ”.

“ This gave him a superiority *to* most others.” Say, “ a superiority *over* ”.

“ This word participates *of* the properties of a verb and a substantive.” Say, “ participates *in* ”.

“ In respect *of* the law of primogeniture.” Say, “ with respect *to* ”.

“ The district above-mentioned abounds *in* game.” Say “ abounds *with* ”; or again, “ game abounds *in* the district ”.

"The king, independently *on* the Parliament, enacted this." Say, "independently *of*".

"You must pause at the right place, and your pause must be accompanied *with* a proper tone of voice." Say, "accompanied *by*".

"The minister was thoroughly conversant *in* all the details of his department." Say, "conversant *with*".

"The committee did not see the necessity *of* the study of Greek." Say, "the necessity *for*".

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#### SECTION VIII.

#### *Conjunctions.*

A conjunction is a word which is used to connect either words or sentences, and to show the dependence of the words so connected.

The copulative conjunctions are: And, as, because, both, even, for, if, that, then, seeing that, since, so.

The disjunctive conjunctions are: Although, but, either, except, lest, neither, nor, notwithstanding, or, provided that, save, than, though, unless, whether, whereas, yet.

The corresponsive conjunctions are: Both—and; as—as; as—so; if—then; either—or; neither—nor; whether—or; though or although—yet.

To avoid making mistakes in the use of connectives, whether these are copulative or disjunctive, we must observe their import. Sometimes both writers and speakers, through a forgetfulness of this, use a disjunctive for a copulative, and *vice versa*.

And. "A conjunction is a word which joins words *and* sentences together."—*Lennie's English Grammar*.

Instead of *and*, *either* and *or* should be used, thus:—

"A conjunction is a word which joins *either* words or sentences."

"Where the Chelsea or Malden bridges now are."—*Judge Parker.*

*Or* is here used wrongly for *and* ; the sentence should be :

"Where the Chelsea *and* Malden bridges now are."

As. This, besides being sometimes a conjunctive adverb, and sometimes a copulative conjunction, is also a relative pronoun ; *e.g.* :—

"We present ourselves as petitioners."

In this phrase, *as* is not disjunctive ; it is not an *adverb* ; because it comes between two words that are essentially in apposition ; therefore it is in this case a relative pronoun, equivalent to "*as men who are*".

It is one of the corresponsive conjunctions. The pair is always, *as—as*, whenever the comparison made between two things is a comparison of *equality* ; but when it is a comparison of *inequality*, the pair is, *so—as*, thus :—

"This church *is as long as* the Cathedral of Cologne, but it *is not so* broad."

"James *is as tall as* Joseph, but he *is not so* stout."

"Benedict writes *as* eloquently *as* Thomas, but he does not speak *so* well."

"So far as I know, this thing has not happened."

"So long as I live, I will not suffer that doctrine to be taught in my school."

"So long as I am president, you shall not transgress with impunity."

The only cases in which it is correct to use *so—as*, when speaking affirmatively, are: (1) when the latter of these words precedes a verb in the infinitive mood ; (2) when we use these words emphatically :—

1. "It has been my aim ever *so to* conduct myself as to merit the praise of upright men."

2. "He cried so loud as to be heard by the whole assembly."

"God so loved the world as to give His only-begotten Son."

"How could you be so cruel as you are reported to have been!"

"How can you descend so low as falsehood!"

Both. When this word is a pronominal adjective, it means *the two together*, and therefore it is wrong to say, "both of them". As a conjunction, it is corresponsive to *and*.

If the conjunction *both* is followed by an article, or a preposition, or by both, its corresponsive *and* must be followed by that article, or that preposition, or by both.

"Both *the Old and the New Testament* give evidence of this."

"He passed *both in Latin and in Greek*."

"We find this fact stated both in the Old and in the New Testament."

Even. This word should be placed next to the word which it is meant to emphasise.

"He found faults *even* in the writings of eminent authors."

"He was severe *even* in cases in which Rhadamanthus would have been merciful."

"He did not even spare the reputation of her gracious Majesty."

Say rather:—

"He found faults in the writings of *even eminent authors*."

"He was severe in cases in which *even Rhadamanthus* would have been merciful."

"He did not spare the reputation of *even her gracious Majesty*."

Either—or. This means the one of two, and not *both*. Therefore, it should be used of only *two*, and not of *more*;

hence it is not correct to say: "You can have either fish, or flesh, or fowl, or vegetables". The correct way to write this phrase would be: "You can have fish, or flesh, or fowl, or vegetables".

Either is corresponsive to *or*. When it is used in disjunctive propositions, the verb agrees with the latter substantive.

"Either I or thou art in error."

"Either thou or I am in error."

"Either he or you are in error."

"Either we or you are in error."

"Either you or we are in error."

"Either they or he is in error."

Either—or, being corresponsive, should be placed before corresponsive words. Mistakes are frequently made in this respect. The following phrases would be incorrect, if written, thus: "This is *either* an after-thought of the *Holy Spirit*, or of *St. Paul*".

"The writers have *not read either* the whole of what I have written, or they have," &c.

As follows, they are correct:—

"This is an after-thought *either of* the *Holy Spirit or of St. Paul*".

"*Either the writers* have not read the whole of what I have written, *or they have*," &c.

If—then. This word *if*, is the Anglo-Saxon for *Gyf*, signifying *given that*. Its corresponsive word is, *then*.

The commonest mistake that is made in the employment of this word, is the use of it instead of *whether*:—

"He asked him *if* he had any more money."

"He wanted to know *if* the post had arrived."

"I am trying to discover *if* this expression is right."

Say rather:—

"He asked him *whether* he had any money."

“He wanted to know whether the post had arrived.”

“I am trying to discover whether this expression is right.”

Neither—nor. The word *neither*, means *not the one of two*, and consequently should be used of only two things. To use it of three or four or five is incorrect.

“He eat neither fish, nor flesh, nor fowl.”

“He went neither to London, nor to Rome, nor to Paris.”

“He had neither coat, nor cap, nor shirt.”

Say rather :—

“He eat not fish, nor flesh, nor fowl.”

“He went not to London, nor to Rome, nor to Paris.”

“He had not coat, nor cap, nor shirt.”

Or. It must be observed that this conjunction is not always used to contrast two things that essentially differ from each other. It is sometimes used when the difference is merely nominal. In these latter cases, good writers usually employ one of the following methods to show whether the difference is essential or only nominal :—

(1) If they wish to mention a thing under two different names, they connect the names simply by “*or*” without repeating either the preposition or the article, as : “Ireland or Erin, lies west of England”. “He went to Van Dieman’s Land, or Tasmania”. In these cases, *Erin* and *Van Dieman’s Land*, are only other names for Ireland and Tasmania.

(2) But if they wish to speak of two different places or of two different things, they repeat the preposition, and say :—

“He has come from Bradford or from Leeds.”

Or they repeat the article, and say :—

“He will do great things with the tongue or the pen.”

Or they prefix the word “*either*” to the former of the two words and say :—

“He is able to do much in your interest either with the tongue or with the pen.”

Unless. This word is used only with verbs; *Except*, only with substantives. The following examples will show the correct use of both words :—

“*Unless you do penance*, you shall all likewise perish”. Here “*unless*” is used with the verb *do*, and is therefore correct. If we were to say, “*Except you do penance*,” the phrase would be wrong; because we should be using it with the verb *to do*.

“No one came to visit me except John.” Here the employment of “*except*” is correct, because it is used with the substantive “*John*”.

Whether—or. These words are correlative.

“He asked him whether he had received his letter or had not.”

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#### SECTION IX.

##### *Interjections.*

An interjection is a word uttered to indicate some strong or some sudden emotion of the mind. They may be divided into the following categories: (1) Of joy, (2) of sorrow, (3) of wonder, (4) of wishing, (5) of praise, (6) of surprise, (7) of pain or of fear, (8) of contempt, (9) of aversion, (10) of expulsion, (11) of calling aloud, (12) of exultation, (13) of laughter, (14) of salutation, (15) of calling attention, (16) of calling to silence, (17) of dread or of horror, (18) of languor or of weariness, (19) of stopping, (20) of parting, (21) of knowing or of detecting, (22) of interrogating.

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#### SECTION X.

##### *Verbs.*

One of the fundamental rules of English grammar is that verbs agree with their nominatives in *number*; hence, if two

or more substantives are connected by the conjunction *and*, the verb must be in the plural, as : "John and James *were* present at the play".

This rule, however, is very often sinned against, as the following examples will prove :—

"By all who come after, the *name* and the *character* of J. H. Newman *is* sure to be revered."

"Both the *beauty* and *force* of the old version *has* been sadly marred by the revisers."

"Wisdom and knowledge *is* granted unto thee."—2 Chron. i. 12.

"Understanding and wisdom *was* found in Him."—Dan. v. 14.

"With Him *is* wisdom and might."—Job xii. 13.

"Forasmuch as this people *hath* refused the waters of Shiloah that go softly and *rejoice* in Rezim and Remaliah's son."—Isaiah viii. 6.

"Thy going out and thy coming in with me in the host *is* not good."—1 Sam. xxix. 6.

"Thy silver and thy gold *is* mine ; thy wives also and thy children . . . are mine."—1 Kings xx. 3.

"With them *was* Jozabad the son of Jeshua, and Noadiah the son of Binnui."—Ezra viii. 33.

"His power and His wrath *is* against all those that forsake Him."—Ibid. viii. 22.

"Among whom *was* Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James and Joseph, and the mother of the sons of Zebedee."—St. Matth. xxviii. 56.

"Among whom also *was* Dionysius and others."—Acts xvii. 34.

"Who *is* My mother and My brethren?"—St. Mark iii. 33.

"Where jealousy and faction are, there *is* confusion and every vile deed."—St. James iii. 16.



"Of whom *is* Hymeneus and Alexander."—1 *Tim.* i. 20.<sup>1</sup>

Some Grammarians admit a singular verb after a plural nominative; *i.e.*, two substantives connected by "*and*," if the substantives are synonymous. This contention is met in the following manner, by the author from whom we have cited these examples: "Either the words connected by '*and*' are different, or they are synonymous; if they are different, the verb must be in the plural; if they are synonymous, then one of them is superfluous and should be eliminated."

USE OF THE PRESENT TENSE OF VERBS. Whenever, in the course of a sentence, we speak of a universal, of something that at all times is immutably the same, or that is supposed to be the same, the present tense must be used, as:—

"St. Athanasius maintained, against the Arians, that Christ *is* God."

"He taught that virtue *is* always commendable."

"He always impressed upon us that virtue *is* its own reward."

"He asserted and proved that the earth *goes* round the sun."

Hence the following sentences are incorrect:—

"By faith Abraham offered up Isaac, accounting that God *was* able to raise him up."—*Heb.* xi. 19.

"Showing by the Scriptures that Jesus *was* the Christ."—*Acts* xviii. 28.

"Paul testified that Jesus was the Christ."—*Acts* xviii. 5.<sup>2</sup>

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD. Very many writers and speakers use the subjunctive mood in a hap-hazard sort of way, for which it is difficult to assign any rule. Oftentimes in one page we find sentences precisely similar, one of which is in the indicative, and the other in the subjunctive mood. Perhaps the writers themselves would be unable to give us the

<sup>1</sup> Washington Moon, *Eccles. English*.

<sup>2</sup> Revised Version.

principle which guides them, as their practice seems to be ruled by chance and not by principle.

Some Grammarians give many rules to guide us in the use of the subjunctive ; one of the simplest, and one, moreover, which will have the merit of making our use of the subjunctive *consistent*, is the following : When there is, in a sentence, a concurrence of contingency and futurity, as :—

“ If he come (contingency, *if*), he *will* rejoice (futurity, *will*),” the verb in the “ *if* clause ” must be in the subjunctive.

When there is either contingency without futurity, or futurity without contingency, the verb must be in the indicative mood, as : “ If he was present, and did not protest, he is a traitor ”.

The imperfect tense of the verb “ to be,” is an exception to this rule, and is put in the subjunctive when we wish to denote contingency only.

FUTURE CONDITIONAL. It is becoming a very common practice to use this future conditional, when there is no contingency whatever mentioned as affecting the verb, as :—

“ *It would seem* that the judge made a mistake.”

“ *It would appear* that the prince did not come.”

Say rather :—

“ *It seems* that the judge made a mistake.”

“ *It appears* that the prince did not come.”

REPETITION OF VERB. Whenever in a sentence the nominative to a verb changes number, the verb must be repeated.

“ Benedict *is* attentive at class, but William and George *are* not.”

“ Joseph *does* well at his studies, James and John *do* not.”

“ A proper *selection* of faulty composition *is* more instructive than *are* any rules and examples.”

SHALL AND WILL. These two words are often wrongly

used, the one for the other. A very simple rule, given in *Booth's Grammar*, will, if kept in mind, ensure a correct employment of them.

1. If the speaker is the nominative to the verb, and also determines its accomplishment, *will* is the proper auxiliary, as :—

“ I will write a letter.”

“ I will build a house.”

“ I will speak to you to-day, on holiness.”

“ We will prove first its necessity, and secondly its utility.”

2. If the speaker neither is the nominative to the verb nor determines its accomplishment, *will* is again the proper auxiliary, as :—

“ He will be rewarded by the king.”

“ You will be seen by the whole city.”

“ They will not be in time for the train.”

3. In every other case *shall* is the proper auxiliary.

ANOTHER RULE. Dr. Lowth, and a multitude of other Grammarians, thus direct the student in the use of “ shall and will ”.

Will. In the first persons singular and plural, *will* either promises or threatens :—

“ I will give you a watch.”

“ I will severely punish you.”

In the second and third persons, *will* only foretells :—

“ Thou wilt find out the right path.”

“ He will lay aside his wildness.”

Shall. In the first person, this auxiliary simply foretells :—

“ I shall find what I want when I go to London.”

In the second and third persons it promises, or commands, or threatens :—

“ Thou shalt have the desire of thy heart.”

“ Thou shalt not steal.”

“ Thou shalt be soundly whipped.”

This last rule must be understood of explicative sentences; for when the sentence is interrogative, just the reverse takes place: "I *shall* go; you *will* go," express events only; but "Will you go?" imports intention, and "Shall you go?" refers to the will of another. But again: "He shall go," and "Shall he go?" both imply will, either expressing or referring to a command.

Would, primarily denotes inclination of will.

Should, primarily denotes obligation, but they both vary their import; oftentimes they are used to express simple events.

## SECTION XI.

*Miscellaneous.*

Abhorrence *of*, not *for*: "He has an abhorrence of all tyranny".

Abounds *with*, not *in*: "This land abounds *with* riches".

Above: "The above words" should be "The above-cited words".

Accompanied *by*, not *with*: "He was accompanied by his son".

Adverse *to*. After, should not be used for *afterwards*. "He died ten years after," should be "*afterwards*".

Agree with. "I agree *with* you; I agree *to* your proposition."

All *of* them, should be, "They all did it".

Alone, should not be used for *only*.

Also, must stand next to the word which it qualifies.

Alternative, should be used of only two.

And, should couple like moods and cases.

Another one, should be *another*.

Appear: "It would appear," should be, "*It appears*".

As : as is said of equality, *so as*, of inequality.

At the least, at the best, at the most, at the worst, at the farthest, are better expressions than, *at least*, *at most*, &c.

Aught, is correct; *ought*, is not. "For *ought* I know."

Averse from : "I am averse *from* the idea of," &c.

Backward, forward, outward, upward, are *adjectives* ; backwards, forwards, outwards, upwards, are *adverbs*.

Both *of*, is wrong ; "Both of them" should be "They both".

"Beg to acknowledge ;" "Beg *leave* to," &c.

Besides, after *else*, *other* : the preposition *besides*, is sometimes used, and when it recalls an idea previously suggested it appears to be as good as *than*, or even better. The phrase : "other than these" is exclusive of those mentioned, whereas "others besides these" is inclusive of those mentioned.

Best : "at best," should be "at the best". Very best is not correct, inasmuch as "best" is superlative.

Between, is said of two ; *among*, of more than two. "John and James divided the cake between them ; the loaf of bread was portioned out *among* the other five."

By night, by day ; this is better than *at night*, &c.

Both, as a conjunction. In compound sentences formed with the conjunctions "both" and "and," if an article or a preposition, or if both follow the former, then that article or that preposition, or both article and preposition must be repeated after the latter.

Caution. We caution a person *against* a thing.

Chief. This does not admit of comparison ; if anything is chief, it cannot be either *chiefer* or *chiefest*.

Circumstances. These are certain relations or adjuncts to some fact. They, so to speak, stand around it—*circumstant*. Therefore, it is more correct to say, "in these circumstances," than "*under* these circumstances".

Come. This word is often wrongly used ; instead of em-

ploying the word *go*, people sometimes say, *come*. We come *from* a place; we *go to* a place.

Comparison. "In comparison *with*," not "in comparison *of*". The following words do not admit of comparison: complete, full, empty, supreme, perfect, true, false.

Confide. We confide *in*, not *on* any person.

Congregation. Nouns of multitude when signifying a *whole*, require the verb to be in the singular; when signifying the members separately, in the plural, as: "The congregation *was* very large". "The congregation *were* deeply moved." "The committee *were* unanimous." "A committee of the House *was* appointed."

Conjunctions. The corresponsive conjunctions are: neither—nor; either—or; though—yet; whether—or; as—as; so—as; so—that; if—then.

Couple. This means linked together; hence, to say: A couple of eggs, a couple of boys, is incorrect.

Consequence. "Persons of consequence" should be, "Persons of importance".

Desirous *of*, is the proper phrase.

Discriminate. We discriminate between two things; for example, *between* vice and virtue.

Difference. We explain a difference.

Distinction. We make a distinction.

Distinguish. We distinguish one thing *from* another.

Dozen. We say five dozen of beer, but five *dozens* of people.

Each. This word means every one of a number separately considered; therefore, instead of saying: "Each *one* of them," say: "Each of them".

Either, means the one of two things, and only the one or the other, not both; therefore, instead of saying: "On either side of the gate there was a lamp," say: "On *each* side".

Every, must be followed by a substantive, "Every one, every person," &c.

Except. This was once regarded as the imperative of the verb *except*. It is applied to substantives only, and should never be used with verbs. The proper word to use with a verb, is *unless*. "*Unless* they had yielded, they would all, probably, have perished, *except*, perhaps, two or three persons."

Enter *in*. In this phrase, the "*in*" is superfluous. We should not say, "He entered *into* the house," but, "He entered the house". We may, however, say, "He entered into conversation".

Entire, refers to that which is unbroken ; *whole*, to that of which no part is wanting ; *total*, to the aggregate of numbers.

Fall *down*. In this phrase "*down*" is superfluous.

Farther. This word is used to denote distance : "He went *farther* than he intended".

Few. This word is applied to number ; *less*, to bulk : "There were present not *fewer* than twenty thousand men". "St. James's Church is not *less* than St. John's."

Folk. This word has no plural ; "*folks*" is incorrect.

Forward, is an adjective ; "*forwards*" is an adverb.

Frequent. This word must not be used for *often*. This latter word is an adverb. Hence the phrase : "On account of thy *often* infirmities," should be, "thy *frequent* infirmities".

Further. This word signifies "intensity, degree," and means to a greater degree. It is not like *farther*, a comparative of "*far*".

Game. When this word signifies "wild animals," it has no plural. "The game *was* sent from Norway."

Good. This word, in the following phrase, is used, and wrongly used, for *bad* : "There sprang from one as good as dead".

Had rather. "I had rather be a dog and bay the moon," &c. This is a mistake for, "I'd, or I would rather be a dog," &c. In order to see the absurdity of the expression, omit the word *rather*, and you have: "I had be a dog"!

Half of. *Of* is superfluous. Say: "Half the city, half the number".

If. This signifies "given that". By inaccurate writers it is sometimes made to do duty for *whether*. Also, it is made to govern the subjunctive mood. That mood, however, is not used with propriety after this word, unless there is, in the phrase, a conjunction of contingency and of futurity. Hence it is quite correct to say: "If he *was* not present, then we need not trouble ourselves any more about it". "If he *have* any money, he *will* be lavish of it."

Knowingly. "He would not *knowingly* do anything to injure you." Instead of "knowingly," use the word *wittingly*.

Name. "The names of Manning, Newman, and Ward are well known to all English-speaking Catholics." Say rather: "The names, Manning," &c.

Naught. This is correct. The word *nought* is a corruption and is incorrect.

Necessity. We say "the necessity *for*," and not "the necessity *of*". Also, "necessary *for*" and not "necessary *of*".

Need. "He has no need *for* money." This is better than need *of*.

New. When we speak of a *new pair* of shoes, our language is inaccurate. It is not *pair* that should be qualified by "new," but "*shoes*". We should say: "A pair of *new shoes*".

Of. "Of all others, John is the best." Say rather: "Above all others," &c.

Often. This word should not be used for *frequent*.

Old. "He was three years old." This phrase would



be better expressed by writing: "He was three years of age".

One. "The one rule of *all* others." This is incorrect.

Open. "Open up, rose up, grew up." For these phrases *up* is redundant.

Opportunity. "He took the opportunity of transacting a little business."

Opposite. This word requires after it the preposition *to*. "He stood opposite *to* the house."

Or. "With the tongue or with the pen." "Either with the tongue or with the pen."

Over. "Over twenty years ago." This should be: "More than twenty years ago".

PRONOUNS. When the antecedent is a collective noun conveying the idea of *plurality*, the pronoun must agree with it in the *plural*; but when the collective noun conveys the idea of *unity*, the pronoun must agree with it in the singular. It would, therefore, be wrong to say: "This people *honoureth* me with *their* lips". Say rather: "*its* lips". Also, it would be wrong to say: "My people which *is* in Egypt, I have heard *their* groaning, and I am come to deliver *them*". Say rather: "*its* groaning, to deliver *it*".

Propose. This word is wrongly used for *purpose*. To *propose*, is to set something before some one for his consideration, to be accepted or to be rejected by him, as it shall seem good to him. To *purpose*, on the contrary, is to have an intention, a design of doing something. In the following example both verbs are correctly employed: "I *proposed* to the House a scheme of Home Rule; but I do not *purpose* so doing again".

Properly. "The rules should *properly* be written." This means that to write them is a proper thing to do. "The rules should be *properly* written." This means that they should be correctly written.

REPETITION OF THE NOMINATIVE. When in a sentence we pass from the active to the passive, and again when we change the tenses, the nominative should be repeated, as : “ Those who had written their letters, or who thought that they had written them ”. “ This is the man who signed the cheque, and who was discovered cheating.”

“ Seldom *if* ever,” should be “ seldom or never ”.

Shall and will. In the second and third persons “ shall ” *promises* : “ If thou do this, thou shalt be crowned ” ; *threatens* : “ Thou shalt be scourged for lying ” ; *commands* : “ Thou shalt love the Lord thy God ”.

So—as. In comparisons of inequality.

Some day. This should be *one* day.

Spoonfuls. This is correct ; spoonsfull, is not the plural.

Square. This word does not admit of comparison.

Stop. “ He stopped all night,” should be, “ he stayed ”.

Strait, means narrow : *straight*, not crooked.

“ Such a bad character,” should be : “ so bad a,” &c.

Tautology. This word signifies the repetition either of the same words, or of words of the same meaning.

Testament. We say : “ The Old and New Testaments ” ; but, “ The Old and the New Testament ”.

That, should be used in these sentences : “ I hope *that* ; He says *that* ; I think *that* ”.

That. The relative *that*, is used instead of *who*, *which*, *whom*. (See sect. iii.)

The. “ In a sonnet, the first, the fourth, the fifth, and the eighth *line* rhyme to one another ; so do the second, third, sixth, and seventh *lines*.” “ In the solemn and poetic styles ; in the gay and in the light style.”

“ The then king,” should be “ the king in those days ”.

“ These kind,” should be “ *this* kind ”.

This much. “ I will tell you (not *this* much, but) *thus* much ”.

"These sort," should be, "*this* sort".

"This two days," should be, "*these* two days".

Treated. "I treated this subject," should be, "I treated *of* this subject".

Though. This is the imperative of the Saxon "*thafian*, to allow". It implies some opposition. Therefore, it should not be used instead of, *as if*. "He looked *as though* he were going to speak." "*As though*" should be "*as if* he was going," &c.

Unless, is used with verbs : *Except*, with substantives.

Verb. The verb should be put in the present tense, whenever the action, or the state which it expresses, is at all times immutably the same. "He said that God *is able* to save us." "He taught that vice *is always* odious."

*Viz.*, for *videlicet*. Instead of using this abbreviation, say, *namely*.

With. In comparison *of*; say, *with*.

What. "A name for *what* is." Say rather: "A name for *that which* is," &c.

Whilst. "*While*" is better.

Whole. "The whole of the Bible." Say rather: "The whole Bible".<sup>1</sup>

## SECTION XII.

### *Faulty Construction of Sentences.*

"He was married to poor Gemma, who seems to have been a faithful wife to him, in the little church of St. Martin opposite."

This would have been better thus:—

"In the little church opposite, he was married to poor

<sup>1</sup> For humorous and instructive criticisms upon the words mentioned in this section, I refer the student to Mr. Washington Moon's *Bad English Exposed*, *The Revisers' English*, and *Ecclesiastical English*.

Gemma, who seems to have been a faithful wife to him".—*Mrs. Oliphant's Makers of Florence*, p. 30.

"Pulso Borsi, who had the fine inspiration of at once reforming the vices and employing the idle moments of his brother porters, hanging on waiting for work in the Piazza San Giovanni, by a most characteristic and appropriate charity."—*Ibid.* p. 232.

Better thus :—

"Pulso Borsi, who, by a most appropriate and characteristic charity, had the fine inspiration," &c.

"How these magnificent mediæval figures . . . must have crowded the little cell, with its one chair and commodious desk, in which the prior lived."—*Ibid.* p. 271.

Better thus :—

"How these magnificent mediæval figures . . . must have crowded the little cell in which the prior lived,—that little cell with its one chair and commodious desk".

"He could not paint a crucifix without tears."—*Ibid.* p. 353.

Better thus :—

"He could not, without tears, paint a crucifix".

"He entered the Franciscan Order, then in all the freshness of its beginning, as a novice."—*Ibid.* p. 36.

Better thus :—

"He entered as a novice the (renowned) Franciscan Order, then in the freshness of its beginning".

"He set himself to expound Dante by a capricious impulse."—*Ibid.* p. 355.

Better thus :—

"By a capricious impulse, he set himself to expound Dante".

"The passengers threw their jest at him and his little heavily shod maiden with much liberality."—*George Eliot. Romola*, p. 92.

Better thus :—

“The passengers, with much liberality, threw (or threw with much liberality) their jest at him,” &c.

“A subtle Louis XI. who had died in much fright as to his personal prospects ten years before.”—*Ibid.* p. 180.

Better thus :—

“A subtle Louis XI. who, ten years before, had died,” &c.

“Mr. Barton accepted his challenge to play a game, with immense satisfaction.”—*Scenes from Clerical Life.*

Better thus :—

“Mr. Barton, with immense satisfaction, accepted his challenge (or accepted with immense satisfaction) his challenge to play a game”.

“She was sponging the aching head that lay on the pillow with fresh vinegar.”—*Adam Bede*, p. 54.

Better thus :—

“She was sponging, with fresh vinegar, the aching head that lay on the pillow”.

“This is the great advantage of a dialogue on horseback : it can be merged any minute into a trot or a canter, and one might have escaped from Socrates himself in the saddle.”—*Ibid.* p. 87.

Better thus :—

“ . . . and, in the saddle, one might have escaped from Socrates himself”.

“She would let no one be fetched to help her from the village.”—*Ibid.* p. 88.

Better thus :—

“She would let no one be fetched from the village to help her”.

“A large family coach with two fat horses in blazing harness, driven by a fat coachman in a three-cornered hat and wig, at the rate of four miles an hour.”—*Thackeray. Vanity Fair*, chap. i.

Better thus :—

“ . . . driven at the rate of four miles an hour by a fat coachman,” &c.

“Isidor, his Belgian servant, sold a grey horse very like the one which Joe rode, at Valenciennes, sometime during the autumn of 1815.”—*Ibid.* p. 38.

Better thus :—

“Sometime during the autumn of 1815, Isidor, his Belgian servant, sold at Valenciennes, a grey horse, very like the one which Joe rode”.

“It is not easy to show him the exact point of his fallacy without a diagram.”—*Tablet*, April 19, 1890 : p. 607.

Better thus :—

“Without a diagram, it is not easy,” or, “It is not easy without a diagram,” &c.

“The five central seats are inscribed with the names of Arcadian tribes to which they were appropriated, in very large letters.”—*Athenæum*, May 31, 1890 ; p. 712.

Better thus :—

“The five central seats are inscribed, in very large letters, with the names of Arcadian tribes to which they were appropriated”.



## PART II.

### LIFE OF CICERO.

#### CHAPTER I.

##### SECTION I.

##### *Birth, Education, Early Life.*

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO, the prince of Roman orators, was born at Arpinum, on the 3rd of January, in the 106th year before the Christian era, and in the 648th year from the foundation of Rome.<sup>1</sup> The little Latin town which owes its chief fame to the fact of having been the spot where he first saw the light, was also the birth-place of Pompey, who was born in the September of the same year, and of Marius, who was destined to be at once the deliverer and the scourge of his country. His family was of equestrian rank, and evidently in easy circumstances, as his father was able to devote most of his time to the pursuit of polite learning, and was intimate with such men as Crassus, the celebrated orator, who was so much attached to him and so deeply interested in his illustrious son, as to offer to preside over that son's education, and over the education of his younger brother Quintus.

Like many other children who are afterwards destined to become famous, Cicero in his early boyhood gave manifest

<sup>1</sup> Some writers give the year B.C. 103 or 105 as the date of his birth.



signs of the genius which was later on to crown him with unfading renown. He was not much given to the sports which fill the minds of most boys, but was fond of books and was of a very serious disposition, a lad we should think whom his school-fellows and companions would admire and perhaps love, but would not find of much assistance in filling up the hours of play with that boisterous merriment which springs from youthful elasticity and an exuberance of animal spirits. His was a thoughtful, studious turn of mind, which drew him to solitude, to the company of his elders and the stillness of the library, rather than to the bustle of the noisy playground, and the rough, though good-natured companionship of his equals in age. The staple of his education were the works of the great Greek writers both in prose and in verse. These masterpieces he studied with the utmost avidity, and with so much success, that in time he was able to speak and to write in the language of Homer, of Æschylus, and of Demosthenes, with almost as much facility as he wrote and spoke in his mother tongue.

In due course he applied himself to the study of the philosophy of the day; to the acquisition of the precepts of that rhetoric of which he was to make so splendid a use; and to the writing of poetry, in which he became an adept of no mean pretensions. For without either going so far as Voltaire, who deemed him equal to Lucretius, or decrying him so much as Juvenal, who mercilessly sneered at him for perhaps one of the most unlucky lines ever penned by any writer, we may safely say that his poetry is at least on a par with much that in these days is regarded as worthy to descend to posterity.<sup>1</sup> It has not, of course, the smoothness or the polish of Virgil's majestic verse, but it is not the utterly

<sup>1</sup> In his treatise, *De Divinatione*, occurs the extract on which Voltaire founded his judgment of Cicero as a poet. The poem is about Marius, and was much admired by the Orator's contemporaries.

contemptible rubbish which many writers would have us believe it to be.

In all these pursuits he kept one idea steadily in view. His was to be the career of a public man, of an advocate, of one who should know how to wield the full force of language, and by it win more victories than are gained by the sword. Therefore, his labours were enormous and unremitting to acquire that facility in the use of his mother tongue, and to lay up stores of knowledge with which to carry the thoughts of that masculine tongue to the inmost recesses of men's minds and hearts.

But proficiency in oratorical skill was not the only means which a Roman had to employ, in order to win his way to power and influence in the State. It was essential for him to know something also of the military art. For if he should ever win his way to the Consul's chair, it might devolve upon him to take command of the forces of the Republic. Hence we find Cicero, who had all the ambitious aims which later on helped him to mount to the highest offices, buckling on the sword to take part, under the Consul Cneius Pompeius Strabo, in a war which is called the Marsian, and sometimes the Italian, or social war. On the conclusion of this his first campaign, Cicero returned to Rome, and once again applied himself with new zest to the studies which were the absorbing occupation of his life. He was fortunate enough, at this time, to find in Rome two men fully capable of satisfying his thirst for two branches of learning for which he felt a special attraction. These were Philo the philosopher from the Academy of Athens, and Molo the rhetorician from Rhodes. He frequented their lectures with the assiduity, and studied their precepts with the ardour of an enthusiastic neophyte, sparing no pains and refusing no labour to acquire those stores of information, and to exercise himself in those arts which he afterwards, in his work *De Oratore*, exacts

from those who, as public speakers, would take the lead of their fellow-men.

While Cicero was thus peacefully occupied in training his mind and storing it with those riches from which he was afterwards to draw with so much fruit to his fellow-countrymen, a coalition had been formed between Marius and Cinna, who thereupon began to deluge Rome with the blood of its noblest citizens. After a period which was a veritable reign of terror, Sylla, who for three years had been absent in Africa, at last returned as conqueror, vowing that he would avenge the Republic and inflict upon her enemies, as well as upon his own, those horrors with which these two monsters had visited the best and noblest families of Rome. Cinna and Carbo went forth to give him battle; but a sedition, which broke out among the soldiers of their army, saved Cinna from the sword of the advancing Sylla, and caused him to fall by the weapons of those whom he had used as tools to glut the rage of his own vengeful heart. The victorious Sylla now marched upon Rome. There everything, so to speak, was under his feet. He was the all-powerful Dictator. Marius and Cinna had ruthlessly slaughtered those who had favoured him, or who had in any way looked askance either at their own projects or at their very questionable policy. Sylla, in his turn, was now every whit as pitiless and as bloodthirsty, and, before the storm of his suspicion and his vengeance, those who had smiled upon the proceedings of his enemies, were mercilessly swept into the jaws of death.

All during these troublous times, Cicero was steadily working at those various branches of polite learning which were to make him the prince of advocates. When at last the proscriptions of the tyrannical Dictator had ceased to thin the ranks of Rome's noblest citizens, and the Republic lay passive and exhausted within his iron grasp, the future

Consul and saviour of his country, fully equipped for his brilliant career, appeared for the first time as an advocate at the Roman Bar. He made his *debüt* in some comparatively trivial civil cases, conducted by him with that skilful care which characterised all his work. The first criminal case, however, undertaken by him was one of some moment, and brought him into the unenviable notice of the savage who then held the reins of power. This was the defence of Roscius, who was accused of parricide. The advocate for the prosecution was Sylla's freedman, Chrysogonus. But the youthful advocate of Roscius—he was then just six-and-twenty years of age—carried all before him. His speech, glowing with a warmth of imagination, which even a casual reader cannot but feel, full of an audacity which wins our admiration, and of a prudence which we should hardly look for in one so new to the ways of the Forum, excited among his hearers the wildest enthusiasm, covered the accusers with confusion, and forced the judges to absolve the accused.

After another year at Rome passed in the pleading of several minor cases, and in the persevering pursuit of still greater knowledge, he again undertook to speak for one who had incurred the wrath of the all-powerful master of the State. Whether it was through fear of what might on this account befall him, or through a daily increasing feebleness of health, Cicero determined, for a time at least, to quit Rome, and seek elsewhere that bodily and that mental rest, of which he stood in very great need. He accordingly left the arena of his triumphs and went to Athens.

At that time, and for centuries afterwards, the capital of Attica was practically what might be called "the university" of the then known world. Thither, consequently, scholars resorted from every quarter to drink in philosophy at the Academy, and to learn eloquence in the Agora. Its magni-

ficent situation, its free institutions, the repute of its teachers, and the hospitality so generously extended to all, drew them to its halls, its temples, and its schools, just as a garden of flowers attracts great swarms of honey-seeking bees, to feast on its sweets. Among these searchers after knowledge came the tall, spare, Roman advocate, worn with the troubles and the anxieties of the past year, and pale with the ardour of his ceaseless pursuit of learning. He came for rest, but not for complete rest. He was too fervent a worshipper at the shrines of philosophy and eloquence, to suffer himself to dream away the bright sunshiny days in total inactivity. He accordingly took up his abode with one of the philosophers of the Academy, and soon became the centre of attraction. He frequented the lectures and entered with all his soul into the animated discussions, which usually followed them. He visited the schools of eloquence, and did everything in his power to perfect himself in that art, of which he was even then so accomplished a master. Thus pleasantly, usefully, and speedily passed away the six months which he spent at Athens.

His stay there was suddenly brought to a close by the welcome tidings, one day conveyed to him, that the tyrant Sylla had ceased to live. He at once determined to return to Rome; but at the same time resolved to visit on his homeward journey the cities of Asia, that he might enjoy the converse and the teaching of the most celebrated philosophers of the age. At Rhodes he remained some considerable time; held interviews with Possidonium; and received from Molo further instructions in eloquence. For, far advanced in this art as he already was, and gifted as few men either before or since have been, with the faculty of persuasion, he did not deem it in any way beneath his dignity to exercise himself in the school of eloquence, among those who were studying its first principles under the tuition of that famous rhetorician.

One day when he had finished an oration into which he had thrown even more than his wonted fire and brilliancy, the audience were quite carried away by the enthusiasm of the moment, and greeted his descent from the platform with one long and rapturous round of applause. Molo himself was the only one there present who gave no sign of emotion. When asked the reason of his silence and unmistakable look of sadness, he replied : " Cicero, I also admire thee ; but I pity Greece when I reflect that wisdom and eloquence, the only patrimony that is now left to us, have been by thee wrested from our hands and given over to the Romans ".

After leaving Rhodes, Cicero came straight to Rome, the scene of his future labours and triumphs. He at once threw himself into the arena of the law courts, an arena in which his study of Greek philosophy and of Greek eloquence gave him as great a superiority over his compeers, as a new thrust or a new guard would impart to an already experienced gladiator in a well-trained school of athletes. His success breathed a new life into the study of Attic literature.\* It became the fashion, and began to be appreciated as it had never been appreciated before. Among his many triumphs during this time, was his able and eloquent defence of the famous actor, Roscius, whom he saved from a suit instituted against him by one Fannius Chærea, for the sum of one hundred thousand sesterces (£900).

Cicero had now reached his thirtieth year, and feeling himself thoroughly well equipped for the career which he had chosen, determined to enter upon the stormy theatre of public life. He, therefore, put up for the Quæstor's office, which he easily obtained, and thus became a senator.

In the following year he set out for Sicily, which had been assigned to him as his province. During his term of office, which lasted for a year, there was at Rome a great dearth

of corn, and he was called upon to supply, for the support of the famishing Capital, his allotted share out of the stores of that fruitful island. With that skill which he showed in so eminent a degree when in a position of still greater trust, he so contrived matters as to satisfy the demands made upon him, without, at the same time, causing any displeasure to the Sicilians. This readiness on their part to comply with the wishes of their Quæstor, was owing to the admirable way in which he managed all the various branches of his administration. We may, therefore, be quite sure that he had put in practice, and had tested by experience, those excellent precepts of government which he inculcated upon his brother Quintus when, some years afterwards, the latter was elected to fill a similar post of trust in the Republic.

On the expiration of his term of office, he returned to Rome, and resumed his pleadings at the Bar. It may, perhaps, have been owing to the repute which his forensic eloquence had won for him, or more likely still, to the sentiments of respect and of love which the inhabitants of Sicily entertained for their former magistrate, that brought to Rome a deputation from the principal cities of the island to lodge a series of complaints against Verres, who for three years had subjected them to the most exorbitant exactions, indignities, and cruelties. Five years had already elapsed since Cicero had ruled over them. He was now Ædile-elect, and to him as their friend, their natural protector, these down-trodden men appealed for help against their unscrupulous and powerful persecutor. Although Verres was high in favour with some of the richest and most powerful men in Rome; although he had for his advocate Hortensius, one of the most renowned and eloquent pleaders of the day; although the gold which he had acquired by his rapacity was able to purchase for him every aid and every means

by which the sword of justice might be turned aside, yet Cicero did not despair of bringing down its keen edge upon him who was undoubtedly one of the greatest malefactors of that corrupt and tyrannical age. He eagerly took up the cause of the men whom he had found so docile to his rule and so devoted to his person. He went even as far as Sicily to hunt up witnesses, to take depositions, and to learn, on the very theatre where they had been enacted, the long tale of the villainies for which the governor stood arraigned. Armed with manifest proofs of guilt, he returned to Rome, and, in four of the most scathing invectives ever devised by the genius of man, impeached the cruel and rapacious Verres. Of these orations only two were spoken; for the defendants, seeing how ill it would fare with the accused, made use of every means at their disposal to defer the trial till the following year, when Hortensius would be Consul, when many of the present judges would be disqualified for their office, and the public at large would be quite weary of the long protracted trial. Seeing this ruse, the great orator abandoned his idea of conducting the trial in due form, and contented himself with bringing forward the witnesses and suffering the full force of their plain, unvarnished tale to work its effect upon the judges. Hortensius was appalled by the history of his client's atrocious deeds, and made but a feeble defence. The nature of the verdict which would be given became so certain a matter of fact, that Verres did not await the formal pronouncement of it, but after the third day of trial retired to Marseilles, where he lived upon the spoil which he had accumulated by his robberies, his proscriptions, and his murders (B.C. 69).

On the conclusion of this famous trial, Cicero began his *Ædileship*, the duties of which would perhaps be most nearly approached, in our own day, by those of the Chief Com-



missioner of Public Works.<sup>1</sup> His position, bringing him as it did into close contact with the people, was one in which a man ambitious of a high, and of even the highest office in the Republic, had many opportunities of smoothing the way to power. Of these he availed himself to the utmost, and yet with so great prudence and tact, that while conciliating the people, that usually expensive method did not prove an exhausting drain upon his purse. But Cicero was too keen an observer of human nature not to perceive that if he would seat himself in the Consul's chair, he must lean upon a more solid support than that with which the fickle populace could furnish him. There must be on his side and in his interest the wealthy classes, and the leaders of society among the nobility. At the head of these, just at this time, was Pompey, to whom the orator made it his business to attach himself. He lost no opportunity of attracting his notice and of winning his favour; and for these purposes became the panegyrist of his actions, and a sort of partisan to extol, and, if possible, to further his greatness. Accordingly when Manlius, a tribune of the people, proposed to give to Pompey the leadership of the war against Mithradates, and for this purpose to invest him with a measure of power, the mere contemplation of which made the staunchest republican grow pale, Cicero did not hesitate, in his capacity of Prætor, to which office he had been, in the meantime, raised, to mount the Rostra, and give to the proposition all the weight which could not but accrue to it from the force of his overmastering eloquence.

While thus securing two supports of so solid a character to aid him in his ambitious projects, he never for a moment forgot to exercise himself in the duties of his darling profession. Hence we find him during this year engaged at the Bar in the pleading of several cases, chief among which

<sup>1</sup> Forsyth, *Life of Cicero*.

was that of Cluentius, and again that of Fonteius and of Cæcina. The two former were criminal, and the latter was a civil case.

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## SECTION II.

*Catiline's Conspiracy.*

On the expiration of his term of office as Prætor, Cicero caused his name to be put upon the list of candidates for the Consulship of the following year. Among those who contended with him for this place of honour, was Lucius Catiline, whose advocate he was very nearly becoming, when that infamous man, after his return from Africa, was tried for embezzlement. Indignant at the companionship into which he was thus, so to speak, forced, the orator previously to the election, delivered a bitter invective against him, and caused his name to be struck off the list of those who aimed at the much-coveted distinction of the Consular chair. The slight thus put upon him greatly exasperated Catiline, and sowed the germs of that implacable hatred which sprang up and grew till it constituted an impassable barrier between the two men. Deprived thus of all hope of ever repairing his shattered fortunes, Catiline turned the energy of his strong, vigorous intellect to organise his schemes for the overthrow of the Republic. These schemes, however, were not so hidden by the darkness of the secrecy in which they were concocted, as that some faint glimmer of them did not reach the outer world, and wake up the minds of men to consider with alarm what frightful atrocity men so desperate might not attempt to perpetrate. The fears aroused by the dread of Catiline and of his associates, did Cicero good service in his canvass for the high office to which he aspired. For though the nobility were opposed to him, and resented the pre-

sumption of one who was not of their order, aspiring to the first place in the State, yet the exigency of the times, requiring, as it did, the choice of a man of surpassing ability, swept aside all opposition to his election, and he was raised to the Consulship by the almost unanimous acclamation of all classes. (B.C. 63; æt. 43.)

Now, in very deed, began the greatest, the most important epoch in his life. He stood at the helm of the State, with the destinies of Rome in his hands. But if he was to guide the vessel safely through the dangers with which it was beset, he must be prepared to weather the storms which he foresaw would be raised by his enemy Catiline. This daring man, nothing daunted by his rejection from the Consulship, had put up for the next term of office. Without loss of time he set about increasing the number of his followers, and actually raised a considerable body of troops whom he put under the command of a certain Mallius. Round his own person he gathered all that was profligate, impecunious, and desperate in Rome—bankrupt farmers, debauched rustics, spendthrifts, vicious and worthless young patricians, every element that was calculated to create a revolution and wreck the fixed, stable order of things.

The Consul saw clearly the dangers which menaced the Republic, and made his preparations accordingly. So keen an observer of passing events, and so astute a man of the world perceived at a glance, that in a crisis such as that which was coming upon him, it was all-important that when the storm burst, it should be upon a compactly united body, and not upon one that hung loosely together, and would be broken into fragments by the violence of the blow. His aim, therefore, was, by a close union among the citizens, to build up strength. He knew perfectly well that Antonius, his colleague in the Consulship, was secretly in sympathy, if not actually in league with the conspirators. He therefore first

won him over to his interests, by voluntarily yielding to him the wealthy province of Macedonia, which had fallen to his own lot. He next, with consummate address, joined in bonds of the closest union the Senate and the equestrian order. If he could but ingratiate himself also with the main body of the people, he would have girded the State with that not easily broken triple cord which would hold it together in a unity which might defy the combined efforts of his enemies.

He succeeded in doing this, by ever maintaining in all his dealings with them, the true principles of government. His justice and impartiality soon began to tell upon them. In fact he won so great favour from them, and endeared himself so much to them that he was able to withstand the tribune Rullus, who had proposed some new agrarian law, by which so much power was intrusted to the Commissioners as would have been detrimental to the Republic and to liberty. He therefore stoutly opposed his measure, and with so much effect, that he caused the people to reject it, favourable as it was to their apparent interests.

Thus firmly fixed in the love of the three orders of the State, he felt himself to be more than a match for Catiline.

The arch-conspirator seems to have taken in at a glance the gravity of the situation, as far as it affected himself, and accordingly lost no time in pushing forward and in maturing his plans. But, energetic as he was, he encountered an opponent every whit as strenuous as himself. For Cicero was so vigilant, so painstaking, so continually on the alert, that he found means to become cognisant of every move and of every project formed in the secret conclaves which met at the house of Marcus Læca.

These machinations, aiming as they did at the overthrow of the Republic, were communicated to the Senate, and were deemed of so great magnitude and of so serious a nature, that the Fathers voted the famous decree that "the Consuls

should see that the Commonwealth sustained no harm". Thereupon Cicero, after doubling his guards and taking every precaution that prudence could suggest, went to the elections and presided over them.

Here, again, he had the satisfaction of seeing all his measures for the public safety admirably carried out, and crowned with success. Catiline was once more rejected; and being fully convinced that there was no hope of ever again approaching so near the prize which he so ardently desired to clutch, except in the confusion consequent upon a general upheaval of society, he assembled the leaders of his desperadoes and gave to them his final instructions for firing the city, for murdering the senators, and for pillaging that Rome which would not suffer herself to be plundered in a more systematic but not less effectual way. He himself was to put himself at the head of the army, which was mustering under the command of Mallius. There was but one care which detained him, and which would detain him in Rome for yet a few days, and that care was that Cicero yet breathed the breath of life. As soon as he made known to the assembly the anxiety that was pressing upon him, two knights at once came forward, and offered to relieve him of so insignificant a burden. They would go in the early morning to Cicero's house, and murder him in his bed.

As in most other great plots, so also in this of Catiline's there was one weak spot through which a knowledge of the deeds that were done in darkness broke its way into the light of day. Here also, as in most other cases, that weak spot was in the power of a woman. One of the conspirators named Curius was deeply enamoured of a certain Fulvia. Cicero either personally or through his agents was cognisant of this fact, and prevailed upon her to worm out of her lover all the secret proceedings of the plot. This she was able so adroitly to perform, that each meeting was no sooner dis-

missed than she found her way to Curius, and was soon in possession of all the resolutions at which the conspirators had arrived. These were at once communicated to Cicero, who arranged his plans accordingly.

On the following morning, when the two worthies<sup>1</sup> above mentioned presented themselves at the Consul's door, they found that hitherto open portal closely barred against them, and to all their urgent entreaties for admission, a most uncompromising refusal returned. They had, therefore, to retrace their steps and leave unaccomplished the task which weighed so heavily upon the heart of their unscrupulous leader.

Two days after this nocturnal assembly held by Catiline, Cicero summoned the Senate to meet him in the temple of Jupiter Stator, which stood in the Forum. The Fathers gathered together in full numbers, for there had gone abroad a rumour of the nefarious plot, and of the horrible object at which it aimed. When all were seated, and the Consul was about to lay before them the business for which they had been called together, and the reason for which their meeting was convened in this unusual place, Catiline lounged in and took his seat. No one saluted him. No one extended to him the right hand of fellowship. Those who were seated on the benches whither he had come, at once arose and left them, just as if there was contamination in the very atmosphere which he breathed. Nothing daunted by this unmistakable sign of abhorrence, the burly giant sat unmoved, as if unconscious of the loathing of his person, expressed upon the faces of all. This apparent indifference, and this audacity in coming into the company of those whom he had devoted to death, were too much for Cicero. He could not

<sup>1</sup> Sallust gives their names as C. Cornelius and L. Vergunteius; Plutarch, as Marcus and Cethegus. Cicero himself mentions only Cornelius.

master the fire of righteous indignation which was flaming up within him, but rising in his place, burst forth into that torrent of patriotic invective which made even Catiline quiver and wince in spite of his assumed indifference, and filled the hearts of the Senators with joy that at last the conspirator had got, in words at least, the full measure of his deserts.<sup>1</sup>

When Cicero had finished this terrible onslaught, Catiline made some attempt to answer; but when in the course of his speech he began to pour out abuse upon the Consul, he was stopped short by a universal shout of "Traitor! Parricide!" Then scowling defiantly upon the venerable assembly, on which he then looked for the last time, and uttering terrible threats of vengeance against all his enemies, he strode out of the temple. Hurrying straight to his own house, he there gathered together, as speedily as possible, the chief men of the conspiracy, and after concerting with them the measures which were to be put into immediate execution, he that night quitted Rome with about three hundred men, and marched into Etruria, where he found Mallius awaiting his orders at the head of his disreputable band of ruffians.

On the following day, the people were summoned by order of the Consul, to meet in the Forum. As soon as they were assembled, he mounted the Rostra, and to that densely packed, breathless, awe-struck multitude, recounted what he knew of the dread conspiracy, which like a volcano was ready to burst up from beneath their feet, and envelop them all in one widespread and disastrous conflagration. One glory he claimed for himself, the glory of having deprived

<sup>1</sup> The first oration was delivered in the Senate on the 8th November; the second, to the people on the following day; the third, to the people on the 3rd December; and the fourth, to the Senate on the 5th December.

the conspirators of their chief, and of having forced him from his vantage ground of secrecy, into an open war with the State.

But though a great victory had been gained by thus, as it were, beheading the monster that was threatening the life of the Republic, yet it was not a complete victory. The head was but separated from the trunk, and might eventually be once again united with it. The trunk, left behind in the city, was a greater source of alarm to Cicero than even the head itself. He therefore omitted no precautionary measures to hold it in check, and prevent it from working mischief.

After the departure of Catiline, the first indication of life given by the conspirators was an attempt on their part to make people believe that he had gone into exile. By the circulation of this report, their aim was to stir up popular indignation against Cicero. Having sent it out on the wings of rumour, they next tried to win over to their party the ambassadors of the Allobroges, who chanced at that very time to be in Rome. Accordingly, Lentulus and the other chiefs left behind by Catiline, busied themselves with these strangers, and at last so far prevailed upon them as to win their consent to assist Catiline, by putting at his disposal a body of well-equipped and admirably-trained cavalry, of which the bands of Mallius stood in very great need. However, on calmly considering the whole matter, these men began to fear the grave risks which both they and their nation incurred, by thus courting a collision with all-powerful Rome. In their alarm at what they had done, they had recourse to their patron, a certain Fabius Sanga, and to him revealed all that they knew of the designs of the conspirators. This important piece of information was by him straightway communicated to the Consul, who prudently took such measures as would lead to the arrest



and the imprisonment of the guiding spirits of the movement.

By Cicero's orders, the ambassadors were instructed to go on in the plot; to obtain incriminating evidence of complicity in it from those who had been tampering with them; and then to suffer themselves to be arrested at a time when they had with them some of the conspirators, and on their own persons the letters which contained incontrovertible proof of those conspirators' guilt. They entered heartily into the plans of the Consul; demanded and obtained the incriminating documents; went forth accompanied by Vulturcius; were met and captured by the soldiers sent by Cicero to the Milvian bridge, and led back as prisoners into the city. On that very day the Senate was summoned to meet the Consul in the temple of Concord. Cicero went thither accompanied by the ambassadors of the Allobroges, and by Lentulus, Cethegus, Gabinius, and Statilius, whom he had sent for from his own house, and who had come at his bidding, without having even a suspicion of the pit into which they were about to fall.

Before the Senate, Cicero laid bare the whole plot. Vulturcius, on promise of a free pardon, made a clean breast of it, and turned informer against the rest. Lentulus and Cethegus could not deny their own seals and handwriting. The ambassadors showed the letters received from these men, and the written promises which they themselves had made, to send a body of cavalry to Italy. Gabinius and Statilius also made an open acknowledgment of their guilt, so that now there could be no doubt whatever of the terrible danger which had been hanging like a dark thunder-cloud over the Republic. The incriminated parties were accordingly handed over to safe custody; orders were given for the arrest of five others; and with the imprisonment of this comparatively small number, so widespread and so dangerous a conspiracy

was, for the present at least, completely paralysed. When these proceedings were concluded, it was almost night; but the news of what was enacting in the Senate had got wind, and a vast crowd thronged the Forum, eager to obtain some information about this astounding plot which had threatened with extinction the greatest city of the world. Cicero, therefore, on leaving the Senate, went straight to the Rostra, and in an eloquent speech gave the people a full account of all that had occurred.

Two days later, that is to say, on the fifth of December, the Senate met once more, to deliberate upon the all-important question of the punishment to be inflicted upon the prisoners. Cicero, as Consul, first rose and put the question. After having done so, he called upon Silanus, as one of the Consuls-elect for the following year, to lay before the assembly the conclusion at which he had arrived concerning these men who had aimed at the overthrow of the State. In response to the appeal of the Consul, Silanus stood up, and briefly gave his opinion that such men could be adequately punished only by the penalty of death. Some accounts state that other senators then followed, acquiescing in this view; but not a few record that Cæsar spoke immediately after Silanus, and dissented altogether from the idea of inflicting the death penalty.

His speech was most ornate, and well argued. He inclined towards perpetual imprisonment as the more severe penalty, and his reasoning so moved the Fathers, that many of them followed in his wake. Even Silanus was shaken in his determination, and seemed disposed to recall his vote. For a short time, therefore, Cæsar's view appeared to be the one that would most likely be adopted by the majority. At last it came to the turn of Porcius Cato to speak. In the most direct and uncompromising manner, he maintained that the only way to strike terror into these malefactors, and to

crush out the impiety which had struck at the majesty and the life of the State, was to put them to death. His courageous speech decided the fate of the prisoners. The vote was taken after Cicero had first cleverly weighed the two conflicting views, and, while seeming to lean towards that of Cæsar, all the while pleaded for that of Silanus and of Cato.

As soon as it was evident from the numbers that the sentence of the Fathers was for death, Cicero lost no time in carrying it into execution. Proceeding at once to the house in which Lentulus, under the care of his relative, Lentulus Spinther, was confined, he received him from the hands of that patriotic man, and conducted him, well guarded, through the crowded streets, to the Tullianum prison. There he handed him over to the gaoler, who either himself, or by the hands of an executioner, strangled him in the vault below. The Prætors conducted to the same place each of the other four conspirators, who, in turn, suffered the same dread penalty. When the last of the prisoners had ceased to breathe, Cicero announced the glad tidings in the usual Roman formula: "Vixerunt". He then passed through the Forum, thronged round by the glad citizens, who cheered him, and accompanied him in a sort of triumphal march to the doors of his own home.

Every one knows the ultimate fate of Catiline, the chief conspirator. When he heard of the execution of his colleagues, he determined at once to pass into Gaul. With this end in view, he marched at the head of his twenty thousand men towards the pass of Fesulæ. Unfortunately for him, there were two experienced Generals in the field, closely watching his movements. The Prætor, Quintus Metellus Celer, lay with his army in the territory of Picenum, and on the first advance of Catiline seized upon the pass, thus effectually checking his forward progress. Antonius, pushing on from Rome, threatened his rear; on

his right flank the Apennines blocked the way ; the baffled conspirator was therefore forced to wheel to the left, march along the valley of the Arno, and occupy Pistovia (now Pistoia), whence he hoped to scale the heights of the Apennines, and so escape into Gaul. Before he could effect his purpose, the Roman Legions were upon him. Like a wild beast caught in the toils, Catiline turned fiercely at bay, and a desperate battle ensued. Petreius, the Lieutenant of Antonius, commanded the Roman Legions instead of his chief, who was just then seized with an attack of gout. The conspirators fought with the fury of despair ; but their valour was all in vain against the steady, disciplined, intelligent fighting of veteran troops. The slaughter on both sides was terrible, but at last the rebel forces were broken and crushed. Seeing that defeat was inevitable, Catiline, according to the account of Sallust, rushed forward into the thickest of his foes, and fell covered with wounds, far in advance of the foremost ranks. When discovered amid a heap of slain, he was still breathing, and showed upon his countenance the sternness and the ferocity that had marked him in the hey-day of his life (5th Jan., B.C. 62).

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### SECTION III.

#### *Enmity of Clodius.*

By the detection and the overthrow of this plot against the Republic, Cicero had risen to the very zenith of power and popularity. He was soon to see how short-lived is glory, and how fickle the love of that very people for whom he had laboured and dared so much. While the Generals whom he had commissioned to crush the arch-enemy of the State were drawing their encircling lines around him, the time had come for Cicero to lay down that

Consular office which he had exercised with so much skill. The last day of the year was at hand, and after yielding up his power to the succeeding magistrate, he came forward upon the Rostra to address a few customary words to the people. To the amazement of his friends, he was stopped short by one of the newly-elected tribunes, a certain Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos, who interposed, and refused to accede to his wish, on the ground that the retiring Consul had, without a trial, condemned Roman citizens to death. To be thus publicly silenced, to be hindered from doing that which custom had sanctioned and made almost a law, stung the Ex-consul to the quick. His letters show us how acutely he felt the stab. Yet, angered as he must undoubtedly have been by so rude an interruption, he did not leave the Rostra till he had cried aloud, so that the vast concourse could hear and applaud his words: "I swear that I have saved the Republic from destruction".

Day by day the storm lowered blacker and blacker over the devoted head of the great orator. Cæsar had never really been his friend; and Pompey was too much knit to Crassus, boldly to stand up and defend his admirer and panegyrist. Cicero was too vigilant, too active, too great a lover of constitutional liberty, to find favour with this triumvirate, whose mutual interest, for the moment, held them so closely united. Pompey, then, abandoned his friend. In these circumstances Cicero, finding no employment in public life, wholly devoted himself to the pursuit of letters. It was during this time that he published the memoirs of his Consulship, and a Latin poem on the same subject. In these works, he failed not to crown himself with glory, and to sing his own praises, till the fire of envy rising to a white heat in the bosoms of his enemies, at last flashed forth and caused the storm to burst upon him.

The deadly animosity of the ill-famed Clodius was the

first bolt to strike him. This furious and lawless citizen, as tribune of the people, passed a law which punished with exile any one who, without the formalities of a trial, had brought about the death of Roman citizens. This was a covert, or we should rather say, an open blow at Cicero. For though no name was mentioned, yet it was clear as day on whom the penalty of such a law would fall. The effect which this cruel proceeding produced upon Cicero was very depressing. He at once put on mourning, and followed by the whole body of the knights, and by many of the noblest patricians of Rome, went about the streets imploring the aid and the protection of those whose lives he had saved from the daggers of assassins. Clodius at the head of his armed retainers several times met, and openly insulted him. This deplorable state of affairs could be brought to an end in only one of two ways—by a hand-to-hand fight between the opposing parties, or by the voluntary exile of Cicero. Every upright man, every one who had at heart the true interests of the Republic, was ready and willing to adopt and put in execution the first and perhaps the surer means; but Cicero himself would not hear of it. He preferred to withdraw from a field in which his great services were practically forgotten, and allow his enemies to enjoy their triumph.

He, therefore, left Rome, and for some time wandered aimlessly about through various parts of Italy, as if loth to quit the cherished soil of his fatherland. After some time he directed his steps towards Sicily, hoping, no doubt, that the remembrance of all that he had done for that island, would awake a feeling of gratitude in the hearts of those who had once loved him so well. But the governor of that province, wishing to ingratiate himself with the ruling powers, shut him out from the port, and would not suffer him to set foot on land. At last he went to his friend Plancus, at Thessalonica, and there for a time found a

resting-place. Utterly broken in spirit, in the profoundest dejection and melancholy, he could discover no consolation in philosophy. That which in prosperity he had deemed to be a balm, capable of healing every wound and of soothing every sorrow, he now perceived to his cost, to be flat, stale, and unprofitable.

While he was thus at a distance from the true field of his glory, Clodius, in Rome, was raging furiously against him. He caused his country residence to be razed to the ground, and on the site of his Roman villa, consecrated a temple to Liberty.

Part of his furniture was put up to auction ; but to no purpose, for no one would buy ; the rest became the prey of the two Consuls, who seem to have leagued themselves with Clodius in his unreasoning hate against the fallen statesman. Even his wife and innocent children were not free from the insults and the violence of this mad and furious ruffian. The news of all these misfortunes was carried to the downcast exile, and overwhelmed him with grief. He lost all hope, and distrusted even his friends. The glory which he had won in his palmy days, afforded no balm to soothe the smart of these cruel wounds. He sank so low, and became so dejected, that he actually regretted not having perished by his own hand when fortune first deserted him.

While the once powerful and idolised orator was thus eating his heart out in the lowest depths of hopeless sorrow, a happy revolution in his favour was in active progress at Rome. For a time, men bore with wonderful patience, the insolent blackguardism and utter contempt for the commonest decencies of life, which characterised the conduct of his enemy, Clodius. At last, however, these became insupportable. They exhausted the large measure of sufferance with which men will sometimes submit to the tyrannous exactions of one who is bold enough to demand, and shameless

enough to accept, the obsequiousness of his less courageous fellow-men. They began to rebel against his audacious proceedings, and to lament their weakness in suffering him to triumph over their best friend and most able defender. Even Pompey, alarmed at the length to which this madman was going, secretly advised the friends of Cicero to press for his return. Urged by these various motives, the Senate declared that it would not transact any business till Cicero was recalled, and the decree of his banishment cancelled.

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SECTION IV.

*Return from Exile.*

These attempts to undo his work, goaded Clodius on to still more furious measures of resistance. When, on the twenty-fifth of January (B.C. 57), a bill for the recall of Cicero was introduced before a full assembly of the people in the Forum, he rushed in among them at the head of a band of gladiators. As was natural, there at once arose a disturbance, ending in a riot, in which blows were struck, wounds were inflicted, and Cicero's brother, Quintus, narrowly escaped with his life. By acts of daring violence, such as these, this plague of Rome was able, for a time, to thwart the designs and wishes of the Senate, and of the most influential men in the Republic, so that it was not till the fourth of August that the bill for Cicero's recall could be passed. Trusty friends kept him well informed of all these proceedings. The tidings which they were able to send him augured so well for the speedy success of the negotiations in his favour, that he ventured to leave Dyrrachium, and landed at Brundisium, on the day after the decree had been passed at Rome. His stay there was not of long duration. News soon reached him that every



obstacle against his return had been removed, and he set out for Rome. All during that happy, homeward journey, which lasted four-and-twenty days, he everywhere along the route met with a most enthusiastic reception. At last, in the month of September, he reached Rome. As he drew nigh the city, advancing along the Appian Way towards the Capitol, the Senate, in a body, went forth to meet him. Outside the gates a chariot was awaiting him. Into this he stepped, with some of his friends, and thence to the Capitol his way was through one vast sea of people, cheering him as if he had been a victorious general returning in triumph from the wars. From the Capitol he went to the house of a friend, for he had now no home, as Clodius had destroyed his household gods. On the following day, he addressed his oration of thanks to the Senate, and made another and almost similar oration to the people.

As some sort of compensation for the wrongs which he had suffered, the State undertook to rebuild the houses destroyed by Clodius. Here again its good intentions were met and almost frustrated by the fanatical hatred of his implacable adversary. Had it not been for the firmness of the senators, the tribune would have vetoed their measure, and perhaps have perpetuated the wrong inflicted on Cicero. As it was, Clodius violently opposed the rebuilding of the town house, and several times, at the head of his band of ruffians, attacked Cicero himself. On one occasion he almost succeeded in taking his life; and had not the orator fled for refuge into the vestibule of a neighbouring house, he would undoubtedly have been slain. On the day following this audacious attempt upon his life, Clodius actually laid siege to the house of Milo, one of the orator's friends, and his most strenuous defender. But that valiant citizen, who knew perfectly well the unscrupulous nature of the man with whom he had to deal, had taken the precaution to have at

hand a chosen band of determined men, who, led by a certain Q. Flaccus, rushed out upon the ruffians of Clodius, slew many of them, and almost had the good fortune of cutting short the career of their leader, only fate reserved him for the sword of him whose life he was then attempting.

This state of lawless rioting went on for well nigh four years. During that period, troublous as were the times, Cicero seems to have enjoyed a comparative calm, and to have had leisure enough to compose his famous oratorical treatises, and to have appeared at the Bar, where he pleased Pompey, and with unparalleled generosity successfully defended Vatinius and Gabinius, two men who had acted towards him as most implacable enemies.

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SECTION V.

*Death of Clodius.*

About this time Cicero was admitted into the College of Augurs. He was fifty-four years of age, and had but a few weeks previously celebrated that ever-memorable day, when news was flashed through Rome, that on the 20th of January his bitterest foe Clodius had fallen upon the Appian Way, a victim to the enmity of Milo. Whether he was the aggressor, or whether Milo actually slew him, is not certain. The most probable account is that which is given by Asconius. Milo was returning from Lanuvium, whither he had gone as chief magistrate of that place, to appoint a Flamen. He was riding in a carriage with his wife, attended by a trusty retinue of slaves. About three o'clock in the afternoon, they met Clodius near one of his own farms. He was returning from Aricia, and, as usual, was accompanied by his armed band of gladiators. The two parties had almost passed each other, when some of Milo's

slaves began to quarrel with those of Clodius. Seeing that something was amiss, Clodius rode up, and spoke in a haughty, domineering tone, to the aggressors. One of these straightway stabbed him through the shoulder. Like a spark falling among stubble and causing an instantaneous conflagration, this act at once brought about a hand-to-hand combat, during which Clodius was carried to a neighbouring villa. Milo, knowing that he would have to answer for the wounding of Clodius just as much as if he had put him to death, caused him to be dragged out of his shelter and slain. The lifeless body was left lying on the public road, till Sextus Tediū, a senator on his way to Rome, chancing to pass by, gave orders to have it placed in his own litter, and borne to the house of Clodius. There it was laid in the hall, and tended by his widow Fulvia, who in passionate grief threw herself upon it, and pointed out the gaping wounds to the crowds that swarmed around to look upon the body of their murdered leader.

Next day, by order of the tribunes, the body was carried to the Forum and laid upon the Rostra, whence they delivered furious harangues, calling on the people to avenge the injury inflicted upon them by the murder of their best friend. From the Forum the corpse was transferred to the temple of Curia Hostilia, in which a funeral pyre was hastily constructed out of the benches and tables. On this the body was laid and fire applied. The flames mounted and set fire to the temple. Spreading thence to the neighbouring Basilica, they involved it in the conflagration, and both these magnificent edifices were burnt to the ground.

By the death of this audaciously wicked man, Cicero was freed from the constant dread of the mischief which a ruffian so hardened in guilt, might at any moment, inflict upon him. His deliverer, however, was not by any means out of danger; for the Senate, alarmed by the riotous proceedings of the

large following who were maddened by the death of their leader, had made Pompey sole Consul. To allay the popular tumult, he ordained that those who had been instrumental in the death of Clodius should be brought to trial, as well, also, as those who had caused the destruction of the temple, and had laid siege to Milo's house. This trial was not, however, conducted as trials of a similar character were usually conducted at Rome. Only three days were allowed to each side for the examination of witnesses, and a fourth for the speeches of the advocates. Cicero undertook the defence of Milo, and prepared himself against the all-important day. The counsel for the prosecution spoke first, and then Cicero rose to reply. But when he beheld the unwonted sight presented by the Forum on that occasion,—the vast throng, the Consul seated in front of the treasury, surrounded by soldiers whose armour and weapons glittered in the sunlight,—his courage quite forsook him. He became confused and made but a very feeble defence. We might say with truth that he utterly broke down. Milo was exiled and went to Marseilles. When he afterwards read the magnificent oration which Cicero eventually wrote and sent to him, he is reported to have said: "O Cicero, if thou hadst spoken thus, I should not now be eating these excellent mullets".

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#### SECTION VI.

#### *Cicero Governor of Cilicia.*

In consequence of a law enacted by Pompey, proconsular governments were revived, and in the year B.C. 51 Cicero was made Governor of Cilicia. He went at once to his province, and ruled it with a moderation and a justice surprising in those days, when a foreign dependency, put into the hands

of a Roman governor, was only a means for repairing a fortune shattered by unbounded extravagance. He also successfully conducted an expedition against the Parthians, and captured a mountain stronghold called Pindenissus. These small victories so greatly flattered his vanity, that he actually was foolish enough to ask for a triumph, and was not at all pleased with Cato, who, in spite of his reiterated requests for aid in procuring this much-coveted honour, would not, like a sensible man, make any effort to further his wishes. That which surrounds his head with a far nobler halo than the victor's crown, are the virtues which he exhibited to the eyes of a people now grown accustomed to the rapacity of Roman officials.

He was justice itself in his dealings with them ; treated them with a mildness which won their affection ; and showed in his conduct a disinterestedness which struck them with amazement. When the usual presents which were made to newly-appointed and to retiring governors were brought to him, and offered with all obsequious homage, he steadily refused them ; wherever he discovered cases of unjust exactions, he promptly repressed them ; and made it his business to diminish the crushing weight of taxes imposed upon the people by those whose chief aim in life it seemed to be, to fill their own exhausted coffers. Yet, much as he loved to act in this upright manner towards his subjects, and deeply as it flattered his vanity to hear their adulatory addresses, he could not bear to be at a distance from Rome, the centre of all political life and action, and especially to be absent from it now that the rupture between Pompey and Cæsar threatened to involve the Republic in a contest, which might prove fatal to the very existence of her liberty. Therefore, as soon as his year of office had expired, he made all haste to return to his beloved fatherland.

## SECTION VII.

*Rupture between Cæsar and Pompey.*

By every party in the State he was well, and even enthusiastically, received ; but he saw at a glance that he had come to a Rome, ready to burst out into one vast conflagration of civil war. Cæsar from his camp at Ravenna, surrounded by his veteran and victorious Legions, had written a letter to the Senate offering to lay down his command, and disband his army, if Pompey would act in like manner. This was refused. Cæsar was determined that Pompey should not be the first man in Rome, but that as the times demanded a resolute, vigorous governor to readjust the machinery of the State, now for some time fallen quite out of gear, he himself should undertake that difficult task. He therefore marched from Ravenna at the head of the thirteenth Legion, crossed the ever after memorable Rubicon, and stood on the soil of Italy. Pompey, together with the Senate, and well nigh all who had anything to lose, or to fear from the advancing General, fled from Rome, and that flight was effected with so great precipitation, that the public treasury was left behind to be clutched by Cæsar, and thus furnish him with the means of successfully carrying on the war which he had now of necessity to wage against Pompey.

Previously to the advent of Cæsar, Cicero had made it his business to hold with Pompey, a long conference about the critical state of affairs, and to discuss with him the line of action which ought to be pursued. On the conclusion of that conference, Pompey saw quite clearly the necessity for settling by the sword the matters in dispute, and declared his resolution to solve the difficulty in that summary way. His confidence both in himself and in the magic name of the Republic was certainly somewhat overweening. He evidently did not count upon the astonishing activity of the con-

summate soldier with whom he had to deal ; for, before he was well aware of it, the conqueror of Gaul had swooped down upon him with that rapidity of movement by which he had already so often surprised and scattered his enemies. Before matters came to an actual rupture, Cicero had tried to effect a reconciliation between the two ; and though his own perspicacity of judgment and keen political instinct told him that the rupture was inevitable, yet his horror of civil discord, and perhaps also his vanity, caused him to make an effort to bring about a union which would undoubtedly have added a fresh lustre to the glory which already crowned his head.

Cæsar marched upon Rome, which was completely at his mercy. Cicero had not fled with the rest, but calmly awaited the events which followed. His body, indeed, was in Italy, but his heart was with the cause and in the camp of Pompey. Cæsar visited him at his villa at Formiæ, and had a long interview, in which they discussed the present crisis, through which the country was passing ; but all his arguments could make no impression upon the orator. Cicero saw that Cæsar's party would ensure his own safety. One of his relatives, Dolabella, was even one of Cæsar's confidants, yet, true to his principles, he would not join the victor, but resolutely threw in his lot with Pompey. To that party he brought nothing but a heart which despaired of the cause, and a tongue which, in biting words of irony, communicated only despair to others who were, perhaps, but too much inclined to deem their cause already a lost one.

Meanwhile, Cæsar wasted no time in inaction, but marched upon his rival, whom he defeated and put to flight at Pharsalia. By this crushing blow, Cicero was so dejected that he refused to accept the command of some cohorts stationed at Dyrrachium, and belonging to Pompey's army. Separating himself from Cato, he returned to Italy, which, at that time, was governed by Antony as Lieutenant of

Cæsar. To many who have written about Cicero, this apparent desertion of his friends, and of the cause for which they fought, seems dishonourable; but Pompey had no more steadfast adherent than he, nor the cause, a more staunch upholder. He saw, however, that it was a hopeless one; that Pompey, able general as he had been in former years, was but as a child in the grip of the conqueror of Gaul; and, therefore, he quitted those to whom his presence could afford no assistance, and abandoned an occupation also but little suited to his character and to the pursuits in which his life had hitherto been passed. Moreover, his return was not to seek favour from the successful rival. He came at the risk of his life; he lived in fear of proscription and of death, until the conqueror himself wrote to assure him of safety, and shortly afterwards received him, with a graciousness and a familiarity, which well became the magnanimity of his great character.

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SECTION VIII.

*Relations with Cæsar.*

Rome was now in the hands of a master whose will was law. Though a considerate and indulgent master, yet he made the master felt. Cicero could not brook this, and consequently lived in retirement, not appearing at the Bar, and not taking any part in public affairs. His ever active mind, devoted itself during this unusual period of leisure, to the study of letters and of philosophy. In addition to his troubles from without, there came, at this time, from the bosom of his own family, troubles to disturb his domestic peace. Of what nature these troubles were, we are not able precisely to determine; but they ended in a divorce from his wife, Terentia, and in his marriage with a beautiful and rich heiress, whose



tutor and guardian he had previously been. Thus flew by the days during which he kept himself studiously aloof from the reigning power; but yet not so completely aloof as not from time to time, to fire a barbed arrow of sarcasm at the flatterers who knelt around the victor's throne, and offered up to him the incense of their servile praise. Cæsar was of a nature too magnanimous to notice these carpings of so staunch a Republican; but smiled good-humouredly at that which, while it did not hurt his cause, yet gave no assistance to the cause which, for the present, at least, was numbered among those that are dead.

About this time there occurred an incident, which, in spite of himself, made Cicero break silence, and come forth from the retirement in which he had buried himself. This was the free pardon accorded to Marcellus, one of his friends. This man had been one of Cæsar's bitterest opponents. In the Senate, he had, in a violent speech, proposed that the conqueror of Gaul should be deprived of his command; he had grievously insulted the magistrate of one of Cæsar's newly-founded colonies; he had been present at Pharsalia, and had fought on the side of Pompey. Yet, at the request of the Senate, the all-powerful conqueror had graciously acceded to their petition, and restored the exile to his country. Cicero, who was present at the time when this favour was bestowed, was so touched by the clemency of Cæsar, that he rose in his place and delivered the oration "Pro Marcello," an oration which is couched in strains of eulogy so high flown as to appear almost fulsome. But when we take into consideration the revulsion of feeling which must have rushed upon him, at the moment when his friend was so generously, so nobly, so royally restored to the enjoyment of all his rights and privileges, and restored, too, by one whom he had so grievously offended, we can easily conceive that the tone of

his language would be somewhat exaggerated, and tinged with the enthusiasm of the moment.

Shortly after this occurrence he once more raised his eloquent voice in defence of another friend, Ligarius, who also had been opposed to the conqueror. He was accused of being in arms against Cæsar. Cæsar himself sat as judge of this case, and during the trial actually, so it is said, held in his hand the fatal decree of banishment. But the marvellous force of that all-powerful tongue so moved the stern soldier, that the document fell from his hand, and he granted the pardon which he had determined not to accord.

By these outbursts of that old eloquence which used in palmier and freer days to enthral the Senate and the people, Cicero seemed to regain some of his past dignity. Though under the rule of an absolute master, he spoke with a freedom and a fearlessness which might, perhaps, have been dangerous under a man of inferior mind to Cæsar. He at the same time regained his cheerfulness. The world did not seem to him to be so vast a blank as it did upon that day when the sun went down upon the disastrous field of Pharsalia, where many of his best friends lay weltering in their gore; when Pompey was in flight; and the forces of the Republic were scattered far and wide like sheep without a shepherd.

This renewed life, this transient gleam of that happiness which had gilded the former years of his public life, faded into the profoundest darkness when his beloved daughter Tullia died (B.C. 45). The blow seems literally to have stunned him. He gave himself up unreservedly to grief, wandering about in the woods and gardens, bursting into tears, and bewailing his irreparable loss. To these paroxysms succeeded a calmer mood, in which he attempted to assuage his sorrow by the perusal of such works as heathenism could furnish to

heal the stroke of so deep a wound. Then he tried what efficacy there was in mental activity, and busied himself in literary pursuits. He wrote, at this period of mourning, his treatise *De Consolatione*, partly to blunt the keen edge of his own sorrow, and partly to immortalise her whom he had lost.

To these dark and gloomy days we owe also his treatise *De Legibus*, his *Tusculana*, and *Hortensius*, that work so dear to St. Augustine. To these we may add his *Academica*, in four books, and his funeral eulogium on Porcia, the daughter of Cato. Some of his Roman friends blamed this excessive, and as they deemed it, this unmanly surrender of himself to sorrow. They blamed him for his idleness, and thought that he would have done much better to have come to Rome, instead of burying himself in his country residence at Astura. Cicero resented the imputation of idleness, and retorted with some bitterness, that he had on the contrary been so busily occupied during this period of apparent inactivity, that he had written during that time more than they would ever read. Thus, by hard work and by entertaining the idea of raising to the memory of his lost one, a monument which would perpetuate her fame, and his own grief at her loss, he in time dulled the poignancy of that despairing sorrow which had well nigh extinguished the very light of his life.

The conspirators, who banded together to rid Rome of the all-powerful Cæsar, seem not to have admitted Cicero into their confidence. On the fatal day, the 15th March (B.C. 44), the Senate met in the Curia Pompeii. Cicero was there among his colleagues, and took, no doubt, a lively interest in the petition which one of them made for the recall of a brother from exile. He saw the senators pressing eagerly round the chair in which Cæsar sat. He saw him rise abruptly, as if incommoded by those who thronged him.

Then the first dagger glittered on high, and the first blow was struck. In a few seconds the deed was done,

“And at the foot of Pompey’s statue,  
Which all the while ran blood, great Cæsar fell”.

Cicero, as well as the rest who witnessed this deed of blood, and who were not privy to the fact that it was about to be enacted, were filled with horror at the great soldier’s untimely end, and left, in all haste, the scene of his murder.

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SECTION IX.

*Relations with Antony.*

But Cicero soon recovered from any sentiments of disgust which may, at first, have risen in his breast; for we find him rejoicing openly over the event. His words of exultation cannot fail to shock any one who calls to mind the flattering, the enthusiastic terms in which he had previously spoken of Cæsar. No love for republican ideas, or for republican sentiments, whether real or pretended, can excuse him for this sudden change of front. A discreet silence would have spoken more eloquently than his almost indecent strain of exultation at the death of this undoubtedly great man. Perhaps the vista which that death opened out before his mental vision, a vista of recovered political influence, such as he had wielded when he crushed the conspiracy of Catiline, may have induced him thus to propitiate the men who had liberated Rome from one of her ablest masters. Be that as it may, he had some grounds for hoping that his past was about to return. For, though the murderers of Cæsar had not admitted him to their councils, they willingly gave him a share in the credit which they had acquired by the deed. In the

new Republic, therefore, he hoped to exercise that influence which he had formerly wielded when his voice used to tell, with so constraining a force, in all the deliberations of the Senate. This expectation will possibly account for the unnecessarily emphatic, noisy way, in which he endeavoured to show his approval of the great soldier's assassination.

Though Cæsar had bled in order that the Republic might rise from her bondage, yet that Republic did not, in reality, exist. For after Cæsar's death, his colleague Antony practically held the sceptre which had been wrested from the hands of Cæsar, and wielded it with as much authority as the great Julius had ever done; for he enforced all Cæsar's laws, and held in his grasp all Cæsar's power. If, after striking him down, the conspirators had shown a little more resolution, they might have had all authority in their own hands. They missed their opportunity. They did not take, at its flood, the tide which bears men on to fortune. They were, consequently, miserably stranded, while Antony sailed in upon its crested waves both to place and to power. Cicero saw the mistake that had been made, but was unable to do anything to check the daily increasing autocracy of Rome's new master. The aspect of affairs disquieted him. The outlook, to his mind, was black indeed, presaging a tempest which might utterly wreck the Republic.

In order to assuage the grief which on this account was gnawing at his heart, he had recourse, as heretofore, to increased mental activity, and redoubled his literary labours. To this period we owe his treatise *On the Nature of the Gods*, dedicated to Brutus. Also two treatises, *On Old Age* and *On Friendship*, dedicated to Atticus. Besides writing these, he occupied himself with *The Memoirs of his Times*. He began a work *On Duties*, and finished one *On Glory*, a work which after surviving till the fourteenth century, was lost, probably never more to be found. His discontent and

disquietude at the turn which events were taking, are manifest from his restlessness, for we find him moving about from one of his villas to another, as if in his fever heat it was impossible anywhere to find repose. He had the intention of altogether leaving the country, and of going for at least some little time to Greece. But on maturely considering all the circumstances, he determined to remain at home. He would be quite off the theatre of affairs if he were to go to Greece, and he therefore resolved to stay in Italy, and even to return to Rome.

He arrived there on the last day of August (B.C. 44). That which had brought about this movement, on his part, was an idea gathered from a speech of Antony's, that this inheritor of Cæsar's power was about to act the true patriot, and once more restore to the Commonwealth its dignity and its liberty. In this hope he was bitterly disappointed. Antony had no such thought. He had no intention of handing over to the Senate and the Consuls, a power, the exercise of which was to him so sweet. Seeing that the hope of anything like a generous spirit of patriotism from one such as Antony, was a delusion, Cicero began to oppose him with all the fire and all the eloquence which recalled to his delighted hearers the days when he had thundered against Catiline, and impeached the tyrannical Verres. His orations on this subject are called the "Philippics". The second and most glorious of these, was written a short time after his return, but was never delivered.

He did not confine his efforts for the Republic to mere words. He strongly urged the young Octavius to oppose Antony, a proceeding which many politicians deemed a great mistake, for, being one of Cæsar's relatives, his person kept perpetually before the eyes of the populace the prestige of the very man whom it was the interest of the Republic that they should forget. To him, however, Cicero

was inclined to cling. We do not for a moment suppose that he was not clear-sighted enough to see through the pretended moderation which at first the young man affected. But at this critical juncture, Cicero found himself obliged to choose the less of two evils. He did not love Octavius, but for Antony he had a positive hatred. His only motive for adhering to Octavius was that he deemed him the less dangerous of the two. As for himself, he did all that could be expected from a great man and a great orator, to uphold the true principles of freedom. If at this period there was any vigour in the resolutions of the Senate, that vigour was owing to him. Any one who examines into the war which was waged between that Senate, struggling to assert its freedom and its dignity, against Antony striving, and striving successfully, to stifle the one and to efface the other, will find that the master spirit who guided the storm was "the old man eloquent," who had lost none of his wonted fire. The best proof of this will be found in the pages of his orations against Antony.

With indomitable courage he continued the struggle till the year B.C. 43, when both Consuls having fallen in battle, Octavius seized upon their high office. This bold stroke startled Cicero; but when Octavius, furthermore joining hands with Antony and Lepidus, formed that famous triumvirate by which the power of the Senate was utterly swept away, Cicero perceived that his occupation was gone. Up to this time he had always treated Octavius with at least some outward show of respect, and had even urged Brutus to make friends with this heir of Cæsar; but now he completely broke away from him, as the murderer of that liberty which to him was dear as life itself. The Triumvirs, as was natural, had each his list of personal and of political enemies to get rid of. They met together and made to one another mutual concessions in this respect. Antony demanded from his

colleagues the head of Cicero, and the request was at once granted.

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## SECTION X.

*His Death* (B.C. 43).

Cicero was at his villa in Tusculum when news of the proscription was brought to him. With him was his brother Quintus, who also was among the number of those upon whose death Antony had resolved. The brothers at once determined to quit Italy and join Brutus who was in Macedonia. Overwhelmed with grief and despair at the misfortune which had fallen not only on themselves but on their country, they made haste to reach the sea-coast whence they might embark, and so escape the sword of their ruthless enemies. Their flight was so precipitate that, in their hurry, they forgot to take with them the means of support upon their journey. Moreover the son of Quintus had been left in Rome, and therefore, perhaps, to save him as well as to procure the necessary means for prosecuting their flight, it was agreed that Quintus should return to the city. The brothers parted on the road to Astura, never to meet again. For when Quintus arrived in Rome, the watchful eyes employed by tyrants to hunt down their enemies, speedily discovered his hiding-place. The myrmidons of Antony were, therefore, soon upon his track. Quintus, warned of their approach, concealed himself. They forced their way into the house, seized his son, and endeavoured to make him discover where his father lay hidden. The boy nobly refused to betray this to them; whereupon he was rudely seized and put to the torture. His screams of agony reached his father's ears, and drew him from his place of concealment. A heartrending scene now ensued. The father and the son



each begged to be despatched first, and the murderers, moved, perhaps, by their misery, seized and killed them simultaneously.

Cicero, on separating from his brother, pursued his way to the sea-coast, and reached Astura. There he embarked and was fairly on his way to liberty, when some strange sort of fascination seems to have come over him. He insisted upon being put on shore, and when landed, took the road to Rome. He soon, however, seems to have recovered his equanimity, and retracing his steps, spent the night at Circei. As he lay tossing about upon his sleepless couch, he came to the resolution of going to Rome, entering the house of Augustus, and kneeling at the domestic altar, of there slaying himself, and thus bringing his blood upon him who had basely handed him over to the teeth of Antony's blood-hounds.

With the morning, however, calmer and brighter thoughts filled his brain. His faithful slaves once more prevailed upon him to set sail from the soil of Italy, and yielding to their entreaties, he again went on board a ship, and launched out into the deep. This time he was forced by contrary winds to return to land. He reached the shore at Cajeta (now Gaëta) and went straight to his villa at Formiæ, which was not far distant. There he flung himself down upon a couch to rest, and determined calmly to await his murderers, and bravely meet his death. He had not long thus rested his weary limbs, and in the deep sleep of exhausted nature, forgotten his many woes, when his slaves hastily awoke him, and with loving violence, almost forced him into his litter; for the assassins were now at last upon his track and would hunt him to the death. Yielding to their devoted zeal, he threw himself into the litter and suffered himself to be borne by them through the woods down to the sea-shore.

Meanwhile the emissaries of Antony, headed by the centurion, Herennius, and a military tribune named Popilius

Lænas, had reached the villa. Some one loitering about the place pointed out the path taken by the fugitives ; they followed it, and were soon in hot pursuit. Presently they came up with the terrified party of slaves. Hearing the tramp of the advancing band, Cicero knew that his last moment had arrived. He ordered the slaves to set down the litter, and forbade any one to defend him. Flinging back the curtains, he stretched his head forward, and, calling to the leaders, Herennius and Lænas, as they advanced, said : " Here, veteran, if you think it right—strike ! " Herennius, stepping forward, by repeated blows of his sword, severed the head from the body, and suffered it to fall into the dust. The hands which had written the Philippics, were also cut off, and, together with the head, were sent as a ghastly present to Antony. With a savagery hardly credible, he had those hands nailed to that Rostra, whence the now silent tongue had poured forth its torrent of matchless eloquence. Thus, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and in the forty-third, before the Christian era, perished one of the greatest orators that the world has ever seen. Standing over that headless trunk, the noblest Roman of them all might truthfully have said : " He was a man, take him for all in all, I shall not look upon his like again " .<sup>1</sup>

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SECTION XI.

*His Character.*

Cicero has had innumerable panegyrists, and also very many who were anything but panegyrists. Indeed, we might say, with truth, that few men have been so highly extolled, and few so bespattered with the mire of malevolent criticism, as he has been. If we are to believe his admirers,

<sup>1</sup> *Hamlet*, Act i. scene 2.

his was the nearest approach among the ancients to the character of a Christian gentleman ; if we are to credit his traducers, he was stained with every vice, except that gross licentiousness which darkens the glory of some of the greatest men of antiquity. The truth about him will, therefore, most probably lie between these extremes. Augustus, in his mature age, said of him : " He was a good citizen, who sincerely loved his country ". In these words is summed up all that can be said of him. They will be the verdict upon him of any one who, with unprejudiced mind, calmly surveys the life that he led, and the work that he did.

He was a good citizen. Priding himself upon the dignity which the privilege of holding the franchise of the greatest city in the world conferred upon him, and loving the liberty which the possession of that franchise secured for him, he laboured for Rome's welfare, with the devotion of a child, for the best and most honoured of parents. When the conspiracy of Catiline threatened with death the Republic thus so loyally and so tenderly beloved, he met him with the courage of a soldier, and opposed him with the sagacity of a consummate statesman. Against Antony, also, he manifested these same qualities ; but, in this instance, they shone forth with even greater brilliancy ; for he showed them in a losing cause, with proscription and death looming before him, as the reward of his courage and his constancy.

It is well to remember these instances, when we read the strictures of his critics upon his political career. In their eyes he was weak, timid, and irresolute. The instances in which these faults came to the surface were many, and their traces are to be found throughout his life. Yet we must not forget the difficult times in which he lived, and the perplexity in which a man of his delicate conscientiousness would almost necessarily be placed, in choosing what to him would appear the right side. His aim seems to have been

to make this right choice. It was no mere expediency that guided him. There are traces in him of what we should call a timorous conscience, and of an earnest wish to do that which is right. A man of this stamp will, therefore, often hesitate, and incline, first to one side, then to another, not through timidity, or weakness, or irresolution, but through a want of sufficient light to make up his mind. When once that light flashes upon him, all vacillation disappears. There is no timidity, no weakness, but the end is pursued in spite of danger, suffering, and even death itself.

This view will partially, but not wholly excuse Cicero from the imputation of these faults ; for in his own day he was looked upon by his contemporaries as a shuffler, a trimmer, one sitting upon a stile and ready to enter whichever field seemed most advantageous to his interests.

A comparison between his private correspondence with his intimate friends and his public utterance before the Senate and the people, will bring to light another defect in his character. This is duplicity—pretending to be one thing, and belying that pretence when those persons were not at hand whose animosity he dreaded. In his speeches he often extolled men whom he disliked and even hated ; while in his private letters he covered them with ridicule, and treated them with the utmost scorn. Of his almost childish vanity, no one can be long ignorant. His speeches are full of it. He loves to speak of himself, of his exploits, of the good that he has done, of his glory, and of the renown which his actions will procure for him with posterity. All these, one would hardly call vices. They are defects, weaknesses, amiable foibles which tell us how very human he was. If, setting these aside, we look at his noble heart, which abounded with the loftiest sentiments, which was open to the noblest impressions, and full of upright thoughts ; if we have regard to his tender love for his children, his steadfast friendships, and his

gratitude for favours done, we shall be inclined to pardon his weaknesses, and to love the man who, by these very weaknesses, comes nearer to us than if he was without any fault whatever.

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## SECTION XII.

*Cicero as a Literary Man.*

Among the ancients there is perhaps no author that has written so much and so faultlessly as Cicero. We possess from his pen a goodly number of volumes. But numerous as they are, they form but a tenth part of what he actually wrote and published. In point of pure Latinity and of literary finish, they cannot be excelled. When taste was corrupted at Rome, Cicero's works still held the honoured place, and were set up as models upon which writers were to form their style. Quintilian wrote a book in which he develops its beauties. Pliny the Younger speaks with enthusiasm of that style which he was proud to have imitated. Pliny the Elder goes into rhapsodies over his unparalleled eloquence. Even the Grecian writers, who cared but little for the literature of their Roman masters, yet made an exception with regard to Cicero. They go so far as to put him on an equality with Demosthenes.

This enthusiasm was not confined to the ancients. The moderns also have given to him a large share of hero-worship. At the time of the Renaissance, they carried this so far as to consider no word to be genuinely Latin, unless it was found in his writings. Though Erasmus did not suffer himself to be influenced by the immoderate zeal of the classical revivalists, yet he was an enthusiastic admirer of Cicero, and spoke of his literary work in terms of the highest praise. Both as an orator and as a writer, he is put by all in the

foremost rank of excellence. Some have gone so far as to say that, taking him on the whole and considering the endless variety of his works, he is the first writer of the world.

Any one who will carefully read through his numerous volumes, his familiar letters, his brilliant speeches, his literary and philosophical treatises, will heartily agree with those who say that, of all the other writers of antiquity he is the one who has with most science and genius made use of speech, and who, in the habitual excellence of his style, has bequeathed to us the largest collection of literary beauties, and the fewest literary faults.

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#### SECTION XIII.

#### *His Speeches.*

It is by his oratorical efforts that Cicero is best and most widely known among us. Comparatively few are acquainted with his philosophical works; but what school-boy is there in the upper forms that has not read his orations against Catiline, or his Philippics against Antony, or his speeches for Archias, and for Ligarius, and particularly his masterpiece of judicial eloquence, the oration for Milo? In these splendid efforts, we find united in the highest degree all the great oratorical requisites for a perfect speech. The reasoning is just and vigorous; the movements are natural and vivacious; every art is employed to win the attention, to gain the heart, and to bend the will of the hearers; he is by turns gay, biting, sarcastic, ironical, pathetic, tender; and all these various moods are made manifest to us in a style most suitable to each of them, a style which is the very perfection of literary excellence. Its wealth, its elegance, its harmonious cadences, astonish and bewitch us.

Many will, of course, prefer the more masculine eloquence of Demosthenes, his brevity, his vehemence, and his close adherence to the point under discussion; but even these qualities cannot be denied to Cicero, though they stand not out so prominent in his writings as they do in those of the great Athenian orator.

The faults which able critics have pointed out in his speeches, are coarseness in invective, exaggeration in matter, and prolixity in style. Our modern ideas of propriety would certainly be shocked by the broad and terribly straightforward way in which he pours out the vials of his wrath and scorn upon those who fell under his displeasure. Yet, if we remember the shockingly corrupt age in which he lived, the abandoned wretches who have come under his lash, and the practice of nearly all the public speakers of his time, we shall not be surprised, and we shall be forced to admit that it was the fashion of the age, and did not seem coarse to those upon whose ears he thundered out the storm of his vituperation.

His habit of exaggerating the gravity of facts, and of circumstances connected with those facts, is admitted by all to be so great, that for the judges, before whom he pleaded, it must have been almost as difficult as it is for us, to discover where the truth lay. His admirers maintain, and with every appearance of probability, that he never wilfully intended to deceive, but that he was carried away by his ardent temperament, as well as by the excitement of delivery, to say that which, in cooler moments, he would have regretted as a deviation from the truth.

Of his prolixity, we, in these days, would certainly complain. He seizes hold of a thought, and twists and turns, and looks at it first on this side, and then upon that, till we weary of it. It is questionable, however, whether the people, or the senators to whom he spoke, would regard

this as a blemish. Unlike the Greeks, they did not over-much appreciate directness and brevity ; but took delight in all the riches, the elegances, and the swelling, harmonious periods of a gaudy, luxurious eloquence.

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## SECTION XIV.

*His Philosophical Works.*

Passing from his brilliant oratorical works to those which he wrote upon philosophical subjects, we are struck at once by the difference of style evident almost at the first glance. Here we find him casting aside that pomp of language, that magnificence of ornament, those balanced cadences, and that almost affected harmony, which mark all his speeches. He is content, in these deeper subjects, to be correct, clear, and easily understood. His language, though less brilliant and ornate, is yet most neat and elegant. It is the difference between a court dress and the sober but tasteful garb of a refined gentleman. Everything in it is plain, but everything is of the best shape, and of the costliest material. The form in which he has chosen to convey his ideas is, like that of his models, the dialogue. Also the very substance itself is borrowed from the Greeks, many of the passages being nothing more than a mere translation from the originals. But, though copied from these, it lacks, like most copies, the spirit of the model whence it is taken. We look in vain for that brevity of expression which flashes into our minds so many ideas in so few words, and that variety which causes those ideas to sparkle with the fire of a living, energetic life. As in his speeches, so also in his dialogues or philosophical works, Cicero is prolix, sometimes even unto weariness ; yet, in spite of a few blemishes, they are worthy of careful perusal, if for nothing else than for the



purity and the elegance of their Latinity, which cannot be surpassed. The subjects treated of are of various kinds, and do not all possess for us the same degree of interest. Nevertheless, even the most unentertaining of them will reward a perusal, on account of the witching style in which the great Roman orator presents them to us.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE ORATIONS AGAINST CATILINE.

#### SECTION I.

##### *First Oration against Catiline.*

THE first invective of Cicero against Catiline was pronounced on the 8th November (B.C. 62), when Cicero was now forty-four years of age.

The circumstance which immediately gave rise to it, was the fact that Catiline had quite recently held a meeting of his fellow-conspirators, in the house of Marcus Læca.

In that meeting, the following resolutions had been adopted: (1) A general insurrection was to be stirred up throughout the length and the breadth of Italy; and for the accomplishment of this, leaders were chosen and appointed. (2) In order to be in readiness to march on Rome, Catiline was to put himself at the head of the troops which were camped in Etruria. (3) Rome was to be fired in several places at once. (4) A general massacre of the senators was to take place, and also of all the enemies of the conspirators. None were to be excepted; only the sons of Pompey were to be spared. These the conspirators were to hold as hostages, in order to obtain from their father peace and reconciliation. (5) In the confusion arising from this general upheaval, Catiline with his Tuscan army was to be ready to take possession of the city. (6) In the city, when once it was in their power, Lentulus was to preside over their public councils. (7) Cassius was to manage everything that had

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been prepared for firing the city; and Cethegus to direct those intrusted with the massacre of the men whom they looked upon as obstacles to their projects.

The vigilance of Cicero had heretofore so thwarted the designs of Catiline, that he expressed to his fellow-plotters his unwillingness to quit Rome, till trusty hands had made away with his wily and eloquent opponent. Two knights at once undertook to relieve his mind of all anxiety on that score, by promising to murder the Consul on the following day. These were Vergunteius and Cornelius.

As soon as the assembly was dismissed, Cicero learnt through Fulvia, the mistress of Curius, everything that had been determined upon. Two days afterwards he convened the Senate in the temple of Jupiter, in the Capitol, in which it was usual to hold its meetings only on occasion of some great crisis, or in times of exceptional danger.

The Fathers had previously, on several occasions, held debates upon the treasonable projects of Catiline, and his design of murdering the Consul, a design which was of some long standing, and had not occurred to him for the first time two days ago. They had passed a decree offering a reward to any one who would make known the plot. If a slave, his liberty and a sum of money equal to £800; if a citizen, a free pardon of any complicity in the designs of Catiline, and a sum equal to £1600 of our money.

The arch-conspirator had all this time so cleverly acted his part, and was so well versed in the art of dissimulation, that many were deceived by his apparent candour, and his reiterated professions of innocence. He set down, as the fictions of his enemy Cicero, all the evil reports against him that were now so widely circulated. He offered to give security for his good behaviour, to commit his person to the custody of any one named by the Senate, to Marcus Lepidus, to the Prætor Metellus, nay even to Cicero him-

self. No one came forward to accept either his security or himself; and Cicero boldly declared that he would feel himself secure, only when the wall of the city stood between himself and Catiline. Even this did not unmask the conspirator. He still kept up his simulation of injured innocence, and had the hardihood to enter the temple of Jupiter in the Capitol, and assist at the very deliberations about the dreaded conspiracy. But on his entrance, no one saluted him. Those who were seated near the spot where he took up his position, at once arose and left him conspicuously alone.

Angered by the unparalleled effrontery of the man, Cicero at once poured out upon him his famous invective, which deals with Catiline's villainies and the notoriety of his manifold treasons.

*Synopsis of the First Oration against Catiline.*<sup>1</sup>

PROPOSITION.

1. For conspiring against the Republic, Catiline must be put to death.
2. It would be more advantageous for the Republic that, together with his followers, he should depart from the city.

EXHORTATION.

To depart from the city, either into exile or to the camp of Mallius.

CONCLUSION.

He advises the Senate to allow the conspirators to depart.  
He prays Jupiter Stator to punish them as they depart.

HE INVEIGHS AGAINST CATILINE.

1. On account of his obstinacy in crime, an obstinacy by which he abuses the patience of the Senate and of the Consuls.

<sup>1</sup> These analyses are taken from the edition of Cicero's works, published by the Clarendon Press, in 1783.

In his frantic wickedness, by which he baffles their efforts.  
 In his unbridled audacity, by which he displays himself.

2. On account of his shamelessness, by which he is not  
 moved by the guards stationed at the Palatium.

By the patrols in the city.

By the clustering together of the citizens.

By the consternation of the people.

By the meeting of the Senate in a fortified place.

By the anger of the senators.

ON ACCOUNT OF HIS DULNESS, BY WHICH

He knows not that his designs are laid bare.

That his conspiracy is known by all.

That his nightly meetings and his associates are well  
 known.

HE DEPLORES THE TIME OF THE CONSPIRACY, BECAUSE

The Senate knows of its existence.

The Consul sees it.

Yet the traitor lives and comes into the Senate.

HE PROVES BY EXAMPLES THAT THE CONSPIRATOR MUST  
 BE PUT TO DEATH.

Of Scipio, who slew Tiberius Gracchus.

Of Ahala, who slew Spurius Melius.

Of Opimius, who slew C. Gracchus and Fulvius.

Of Marius, who slew Saturninus and Servilius.

YET BECAUSE HE DOES NOT PUT HIM TO DEATH, CICERO  
 BOTH ACCUSES AND EXCUSES HIMSELF.

He accuses himself of remissness and negligence.

He excuses himself on the score of patient endurance,  
 and on his will to put Catiline to death.

AS FOR CATILINE HIMSELF,

He exhorts him to change his mind.

He confounds him by showing him that his villainous  
 designs are laid bare.

He orders him to quit the city.

*First Part of the Exhortation.*

## HE IMPLORES HIM TO GO INTO EXILE.

Because his private life is infamous, and his public life hurtful to the Republic, inasmuch as he has endeavoured to slay the Consuls and to intimidate the Senate.

Because the voice of his Fatherland reproaches him on account of his abandoned life.

It beseeches him to free it from dread.

Because the Senate wishes him to go into exile, inasmuch as it has heard the Consul ordering him to be gone, and yet has said nothing to reprobate such an order. By that silence it gives its approval to this severe measure.

Because the zeal of the equestrian order and of the other citizens manifests their unanimity in wishing Catiline to depart, and this zeal they make evident by their loud shouts, and by their readiness to put Catiline to death.

*Second Part of the Exhortation.*

## HE EXHORTS HIM TO GO TO MALLIUS.

1. For Catiline's own sake, to whom it would be *useful*, inasmuch as the army of Mallius was augmented, as he had ordered that General to augment it; *delightful*, on account of the fellowship which it would afford him of thousands of worthless wretches, and of the spoils with which it would enrich him; *honourable*, by reason of the opportunity with which it would furnish him of exercising himself in the endurance of hunger, cold, and want.
2. For the country's sake, for which the departure of Catiline would in appearance be *fatal*, since Italy would be wasted by war, its cities harassed, its

homesteads committed to the flames ; but in reality would be most *useful*, because the conspiracy would then be more clearly seen, and the well-being of the Republic be made more secure.

*The Conclusion.*

ADDRESSED, FIRST, TO THE SENATORS.

- (1) To allow the conspirators to depart, lest they should lay snares for the Consul ; surround the tribunal of the Prætor ; besiege the Senate-house, and set fire to the city.
- (2) To be of good cheer, because of the Consul's unwearying energy, the Senate's influence, the equestrian order's unflinching bravery, the citizens' unanimity.

SECONDLY, TO JUPITER STATOR.

To drive afar off Catiline and all his wretched associates.  
To inflict upon them punishments adequate to their crimes.

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SECTION II.

*The Second Oration against Catiline.*

At the conclusion of the stirring harangue addressed to him by Cicero, Catiline seemed to be completely stunned, and for a few moments sat motionless in his place, as if uncertain what to do. But as the eyes of all were fixed upon him in anxious expectation of the reply which he would make to the charges hurled, with such telling force, against him, he arose and attempted some sort of justification of his conduct. With faltering voice and downcast eyes, he thus addressed the assembled Fathers :—

“Do not, Conscript Fathers, lend a too ready ear to the accusations levelled against my character, by the malevolence of a personal enemy.

“If you consider the honourable source whence I spring, and the life which I have led, you will see that both these threw wide open to me the entrance to all that is high and honourable.

“Is it, then, for a moment to be supposed that I, a man of patrician birth, a man whose ancestors have given to the Roman people so many and so signal proofs of their love and their devotion, should aim at the overthrow of that people, but that all the zeal for its welfare, all the striving for its glory, should be found locked up in the breast of Cicero—a man of yesterday—but recently a citizen of Rome?”

He was proceeding in this strain, and was about to pour out a torrent of abuse upon his vigilant and victorious enemy, when from all sides of the House he was met by the cry: “Traitor! Parricide!”

Stung to madness by this outburst of execration, and furious at the evident aversion from, and the loathing of him thus manifested by his own order, he spoke out openly and boldly, that which only in secret and to Cato, he had ventured to say in the confidence of a private conversation: “Surrounded by enemies, and driven headlong by their implacable hate, I will smother the flames of their anger under the ruins of Rome”. Having uttered this threat, he strode hastily out of the assembly.

On reaching home and calmly considering the events of the day, he saw plainly that it was vain any longer to dissemble. He therefore resolved to act at once, before either the troops of the Republic could be massed together against him, or any new levies be raised to augment their number.

Hastily summoning Lentulus, Cethegus, and the other chiefs of the conspiracy, he held a brief conference with



them about the measures concerted in their last meeting ; and after solemnly promising that he would shortly return at the head of a powerful army, he that same night left Rome accompanied by only a small retinue.

On the following day, his friends industriously circulated the report that he had gone to Marseilles into voluntary exile. This they did with a view to stir up popular indignation and excite odium against Cicero, for having without any proof of guilt, driven an innocent man into exile.

Cicero, however, was not to be deceived by so evident a fabrication, for he was so well served by what we may call his "intelligence department," that not a move of Catiline's was unknown to him. He was well aware that he had gone to the camp of Mallius and not to Marseilles ; that he was now in open rebellion against the Commonwealth ; that he had forwarded to his confederates, vast quantities of warlike munitions, military ensigns, and even that famous silver eagle which he had kept with a sort of superstitious reverence, because it had once belonged to Marius, and had been carried by that General in his expedition against the Cimbri.

Knowing all this, and knowing also that the followers of Catiline left by him in the city would do everything in their power to impress the popular mind with a false view of all that had taken place, he called a public meeting in the Forum. Before that meeting, he laid bare all that on the preceding day had transpired in the Senate, and told them that Catiline had left Rome to join Mallius and to wage war on the Republic. This, in short, is the subject of this second oration.

*Synopsis of the Second Oration against Catiline.*

PART I.

He congratulates himself for having cast out Catiline.

He gives his reasons for not putting him to death.

## PART II.

He proves that the soldiers of the conspiracy are not to be feared, when once they are outside the walls.

That the multitude of conspirators within the city are to be feared.

That Catiline, the head of the conspiracy, will not go into exile.

## PART III.

He divides the conspirators into six classes.

He extols the defenders of the Republic, opposed to these.

## PERORATION.

(1) He frees from fear all good citizens. (2) He inspires with dread all citizens who are in the conspiracy. (3) He promises to the good, the aid of the gods.

*Analysis of the First Part.*

## HE CONGRATULATES HIMSELF FOR HAVING CAST OUT CATILINE.

On account of his future security.

On account of the present war, which is just and open.

On account of past dangers avoided, dangers which were personal, threatening the city, and the citizens.

## HE GIVES HIS REASONS FOR NOT PUTTING HIM TO DEATH.

1. On account of the citizens who were not entangled in the conspiracy, and who did not believe what was revealed concerning it; nor seriously weigh those facts which were believed; who defended the facts that had been duly examined into; and who were inclined to favour their friends among the conspirators.

2. On account of those who shared in the conspiracy, and who could not be punished.

*Analysis of the Second Part.*

THE SOLDIERS OF THE CONSPIRACY, WHEN OUTSIDE THE CITY, ARE NOT TO BE FEARED :

Because they are old men ; rustics ; spendthrifts ; men fleeing from the courts of justice.

THE BAND OF CONSPIRATORS IN THE CITY ARE TO BE FEARED :

Because of their fearless arrogance ; their ambition to rule provinces ; their many and great vices ; their daring and their cruelty ; their avarice and their want of money ; their drunkenness and their hatred of the upright ; their infamous luxury and lust.

THE HEAD OF THE CONSPIRACY WILL NOT LEAVE THE CITY TO GO INTO EXILE :

Because he is neither ordered to go, nor yet forbidden to go.

*Analysis of the Third Part.*

HE DIVIDES THE CONSPIRATORS INTO SIX CLASSES.

1. Those who are rich and avaricious.
2. Those who are poor and ambitious.
3. The insolently prodigal.
4. Cruel cut-throats.
5. Indolent spendthrifts.
6. Fashionable gallants.

THE SOLDIERS AND THE RESOURCES OF THE REPUBLIC OPPOSED TO THEM.

The Consuls and the Generals.

The flower and the strength of Italy.

The colonies and the municipal towns.

The Senate, the equestrian order, the Roman people.

The treasury, the revenue, equity of the cause, and the aid of the gods.

*Peroration.*

## I. HE EXHORTS THE GOOD CITIZENS :

To defend their houses, with guards and with watchmen.

Not to be troubled about other matters, because the city is sufficiently protected; the colonies and the municipal towns will provide for themselves; the gladiators will be kept in office; Gaul and Picenum will be protected by Metellus; and the Senate will provide for the rest.

## HE WARNS THOSE OF THE CITIZENS WHO ARE CONSPIRATORS

To look to the welfare of the Fatherland.

To remember that they are free to depart.

To bear in mind that he will punish those who, in the city, shall be guilty of any disorder.

## HE PROCLAIMS THAT HE, THE CONSUL,

Will cause, without any tumult, that every danger be warded off.

That under his command, war shall be changed into peace.

That the good shall suffer no loss.

That as few as possible of the wicked shall be punished.

## HE ACKNOWLEDGES THAT THE GODS ARE THE PROTECTORS OF THE REPUBLIC.

On these he acknowledges that he founds his trust.

That they have given signs of heavenly aid.

That by their presence they will defend the hearths and the homes of the citizens.

In conclusion, he exhorts all the citizens to worship them and invoke their aid.

## SECTION III.

*The Third Oration against Catiline.*

As soon as Catiline had left the city, Lentulus, and the other leading men of the conspiracy, lost no time in making all ready for carrying into execution the impious design of their bold and unscrupulous leader. For this purpose, they industriously went about sounding the dispositions of all classes of men, endeavouring by entreaty, as well as by argument, to win them over to take part in the momentous drama which they fancied was so soon to be enacted in the streets of Rome. Among a multitude of others, to whom their overtures were made, there happened to be at that time in the city, a certain number of men of the nation of the Allobroges.<sup>1</sup>

They had come as ambassadors to seek redress for some grievance under which their people were smarting, and were now on the point of returning, unsuccessful in their mission, out of humour with the Senate, which had not granted their petition, and consequently ripe for the entertainment of any project which would afford a vent for their disaffection.

They listened eagerly to the proposals of Lentulus, and were by him drawn into the plot. In return for the splendid advantages which they were to reap from the overthrow of the Republic, they promised to win over their nation to furnish to the conspirators that of which they then stood in very great need—a well-trained and well-equipped body of horse—to aid in the operations of their army.

But, on examining with more mature deliberation the chances of success likely to attend so hazardous an enterprise, all the difficulties that bristled in its way, and all the dangers that clustered round it, made them pause in anxious

<sup>1</sup> They inhabited that part of Gaul which is now known as Savoy and Dauphiny.

doubt whether they should proceed any farther in the business. In their perplexity, they had recourse to their patron in the city, a certain Fabius Sanga. The revelation which they made to him was so startling, so momentous, that he lost no time in laying it before Cicero. To the vigilant and energetic Consul, this was, for the purpose of unmasking the plot, an opportunity upon which he seized with the utmost avidity, and, with characteristic ability, turned at once to the best account. Through their patron, Sanga, he traced out for the ambassadors the line of policy which they were to follow in dealing with the conspirators. This was to pretend that they were animated with the same sentiments that had at first spurred them on to throw in their lot with Catiline; to promise the hearty support of their nation in the furtherance of his designs; to continue acting this part till they were in full possession of all the details of the plot, and had obtained incontrovertible proof of complicity in it, against certain particular persons.

Accordingly, at their next conference with the leaders, they insisted upon the necessity for having from them some documentary evidence, some trustworthy credentials which they could show to their people, to vouch for the truth of what they should unfold. This demand does not seem to have aroused any suspicion in the minds of the conspirators, but appeared to be reasonable, and was readily agreed to. They, therefore, determined to send Vulturcius with the ambassadors, when these latter should set out on their homeward journey. He was to introduce them to Catiline, and with him, the head itself of the movement, they were to confirm their agreement, and from him to receive assurances that every promise should be faithfully accomplished. Lentulus was fool enough to fall into the trap thus laid for him. He wrote a letter to Catiline, under his own hand and seal, but without signing his name. He delivered this to the safe

keeping of Vulturcius, that he might, with his own hands, deliver it to their chief.

When the ambassadors had obtained all the requisite information, they communicated to Cicero the result of their conference. He at once arranged with them the time at which they were to leave Rome, and the place whence they were to start. They were to have in their possession their credentials, and whatever other documentary evidence they had been able to obtain. About a mile from the city, and on the Milvian Bridge, they were to be arrested by the two Prætors, Lucius Flaccus and Caius Pontinus. These latter were instructed by Cicero to take with them a strong company of soldiers and of trusty friends; to lie in ambush near the bridge; and to spring out upon the travellers and effect their arrest before they could offer any resistance.

This programme was most admirably carried out by those intrusted with its execution. The whole party was surprised at the Milvian Bridge, and safe in the grip of the stalwart Roman soldiers, without the loss of a single drop of blood, thanks to the address of the Prætors, who prevented both parties from using the weapons which, on the first signal of assault, had been drawn by each. Once in safe custody, they were marched back to Rome, and conducted to Cicero's house, where they arrived at about the break of day. Rumours of what had occurred, and of the fact that certain documents had been found upon the ambassadors, spread rapidly through the city, and brought round the Consul a number of friends, who strongly urged him first to open these letters before submitting them to the consideration of the Senate, lest, if they should prove to contain nothing of a compromising character, all this alarm would seem to have been created to no purpose.

Cicero, however, was of a different opinion. He knew

perfectly well the substance of the letters, and what incontrovertible proof of damning guilt they contained ; therefore, in a matter of such vital importance to the Commonwealth, he deemed it fitting to lay the whole matter before the public council of the nation. Accordingly the Senate was summoned in hot haste to meet the Consul, who at the same time sent messengers to the houses of Gabinius, Statilius, Cethegus, and Lentulus, to bid these worthies attend his pleasure, as if there had occurred some matter of great moment upon which he desired to have the benefit of their sage experience. Without the shadow of a suspicion of the pitfall into which they were about to drop, each of them hurried after the messenger, and came to the house of Cicero. As soon as they were all safely within doors, the wary Consul despatched Caius Sulpicius to the house of Cethegus to search for arms, which, as he had been informed, were stored there for the use of the conspirators. That devoted Prætor soon returned, and reported that he had discovered a large assortment of swords, daggers, and small arms, but recently cleaned, polished, and ready for use. Now that everything was prepared for the disclosure he was about to make, he set out for the temple of Concord, in which the Senate had already assembled, carrying with him the ambassadors of the Allobroges and the conspirators, surrounded by a strong guard of trusty citizens.

Arrived at the temple, the Consul at once entered, and after giving the assembled Fathers a detailed account of all that he had done and of all that he had discovered, ordered each of the incriminated parties to be brought and confronted with those whose utter destruction they were impiously meditating. They were examined, the proofs were produced, the depositions of witnesses were taken, and thus the whole iniquity of the plot was laid bare before the eyes of the awe-struck and indignant assembly. The guilty complicity in



the nefarious confederacy being thus set beyond either doubt or cavil, the criminals, together with those who had informed against them, were removed from the temple, and the Fathers at once entered into debate concerning the state of the Republic. The results of that debate were the following resolutions :—

(1) That public thanks should be given to Cicero, because by his virtue, his counsel, and his foresight, the Republic had been delivered from the greatest dangers. (2) That thanks should be given also to Flaccus and Pontinus for their vigorous and punctual execution of Cicero's orders. (3) That Antonius, the Consul, should receive a due meed of praise, for having removed from his counsels all those who were in any way concerned in the conspiracy. (4) That Lentulus, having first abdicated his Prætorship, and divested himself of his official robes, should be committed to safe custody, together with Cethegus, Statilius, and Gabinius and furthermore, that their confederates, Cassius, Cæparius, Furius, Chilo, and Umbrenus should, when apprehended, be committed with them to the same safe keeping. (5) That a public thanksgiving should be made in Cicero's name, because he had preserved the city from conflagration, the citizens from massacre, and Italy from war.

When these resolutions had been voted, the Senate was dismissed. On leaving the temple of Concord, Cicero went straight into the Rostra, and gave to the assembled people an account of the discovery which had been made and the resolutions which had been arrived at by the Senate. The account of these transactions constitutes the matter of this third oration.

*Synopsis of the Third Oration against Catiline.*

EXORDIUM.

Renders the hearers (1) *attentive*, by making evident to them the benefit of the gods; (2) *well-disposed*, by

laying before them an account of his own labours ; and (3) *docile*, by promising to make known to them, all about the conspiracy.

#### NARRATION.

This sets before them his own diligence. The conspiracy of Lentulus. The energetic action of the Prætors in intercepting the letters. The extent of the conspiracy. The interrogatories to which he, and the others, subjected the prisoners. Their fright on being discovered. The Senate's decree against those who were convicted, and who admitted their guilt.

#### PERORATION.

Exhorts the people to give thanks to God. To protect Cicero himself from the snares of these abandoned wretches. To pay homage to the Capitoline Jove.

#### *Analysis of the Exordium.*

He awakes the attention of the people, by making evident to them the action of the gods, in the preservation of the Republic, of the citizens, and of the city of Rome itself.

*Benevolent* or well-disposed, by laying before them an account of his own labour in preserving the citizens from massacre, and the city from incendiaries.

*Docile*, by promising to let them know all about the conspiracy, the magnitude and the reality of which he will lay before them ; the manner in which the inquiry was made ; and the capture of the criminals effected.

#### *First Part of the Narration.*

#### I. HIS DILIGENCE.

He puts before them his diligence in consulting for the well-being of the citizens, and in discovering the designs of the conspirators.

2. THE CONSPIRACY OF LENTULUS,  
with the Allobroges and with Catiline.
3. THE VIRTUES OF THE PRÆTORS.  
Their fortitude and love in undertaking, without hesitation and without delay, the arrest of the conspirators. Their prudence in laying the ambush. Their success in effecting, without bloodshed, the capture of the whole party. Their loyalty in bringing them before the Consul.
4. THE ARREST OF THE CONSPIRATORS,  
Gabinus, Statilius, Cethegus and Lentulus.
5. EXAMINATION OF THE PRISONERS,  
Vulturcius and the Allobroges, Cethegus and his confederates.
6. THEIR PERTURBATION,  
Manifest from their changing colour; from their eyes; their faces; their silence; their furtive looks at one another.

*Second Part of the Narration.*

THE DECREE OF THE SENATE.

He tells them of the Senate's decree, by which rewards are offered to those who are ridding the Republic of the conspiracy; a public thanksgiving to Cicero the Consul; praise to the Prætors Flaccus and Pontinus; and to Caius Antonius, Cicero's colleague. The conspirators are cast into prison. A solemn act of thanksgiving is decreed to the immortal gods.

CAUSES OF THE MANIFESTATION OF THE CONSPIRACY.

He makes known to them these causes, which are: (1)  
The absence of Catiline, apart from whom his confederates are not to be feared; but with him as a leader, are very much to be dreaded, because of his

commanding abilities. (2) The aid of the gods, and particularly of Jove, who by prodigies and prophecies, showed that the conspiracy would be a reality; and having become a reality, would be broken up by them; by the Consul Cicero; and by the ambassadors of the Allobroges.

#### THE PERORATION.

1. He asks them, joyously, and by a public supplication, to give thanks to the gods, for having, without a massacre, without bloodshed, without an army, and without conflict, delivered the citizens from a most cruel death. These are circumstances which hardly ever happen in cases of civil discord, as is evident in the dissension which occurred between Sylla and Sulpicius, Cinna and Octavius, Sylla and the Marii, Lepidus and Catulus.
2. To be mindful of the benefit received from him, by loving him with their hearts, by praising him with their lips and in their writings, by protecting him by their deeds.
3. To venerate Capitoline Jove, the guardian of the city, and of all the citizens.

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#### SECTION IV.

##### *The Fourth Oration against Catiline.*

Though a heavy blow was dealt the conspiracy by the detection and the imprisonment of so many of the influential men who had thrown in their lot with the now infamous Catiline, yet the conspiracy itself was not killed outright. It was still strong, vigorous, and possessed of a vitality not to be crushed out by the extinction of even such men as Lentulus, Cethegus, and the rest, who had been caught in

the snare, so cleverly set for them by Cicero. As soon as the consternation excited by that event had somewhat subsided, the bereaved followers of these desperadoes began to bestir themselves. There were rumours that deadly treason was once more afoot and abroad in the city, that the slaves were to be stirred up to revolt, and that these, led on by the adherents of the imprisoned chiefs, were to burst asunder their bonds, and set them at liberty.

Cicero, nothing daunted by the threatening aspect of affairs, merely doubled his guards, and pushed vigorously on to the next stage in the course which he had marked out for himself. This was the question of punishment. To settle a matter of such vital importance, he summoned the Senate to debate the point in public council.

For each of the members of that august assembly, the issue of that debate was one of the utmost delicacy. The men, upon whose fate they were called to decide, were sprung from the highest and noblest families in the Republic. Among them there were men who were personally known to most of the senators. With some of them they were connected by ties of relationship, or of marriage, or, at the least, of friendship. Besides these minor considerations, there was the fact that, to the Roman mind, the idea of capital punishment for a Roman citizen, was revolting and odious. The ordinary course of procedure in the case of such delinquents as these, was to banish them from Rome, or from Italy, and to confiscate their property. The Senate, of course, as the supreme tribunal, claimed and occasionally exercised the right to inflict, in exceptionally grave circumstances, the death-penalty. But even this very modified measure of supreme power, was regarded as an infringement of the people's rights, and only the pressing nature of the circumstances in which it was used, excused it from the imputation of a tyrannical abuse.

Besides this public sentiment hostile to capital punishment, there were two laws which made the infliction of it in the case of citizens, a matter of rare occurrence. The first was that passed by the tribune Porcius Læca, whose exertions obtained for any citizen condemned to death, the right of an appeal to the people. The second was passed by C. Gracchus. This prohibited taking the life of any citizen, without a formal hearing before the people. Hence, as soon as the question of punishment was mooted, and men were brought face to face with the disagreeable fact that only the death-penalty was adequate to the enormity of the crime of which the prisoners had been proved guilty, they hesitated to take part in a debate which they foresaw would end in handing over their fellow-citizens to the sword of the executioner. Even those who up to this point had heartily approved of all the measures which Cicero had undertaken, now held back and refused to carry those measures to their logical conclusion.

If matters were pushed to extremes, and the punishment which these men so richly deserved were inflicted upon them, that line of action would furnish the enemies of Cicero with the means by which they might easily turn against him the tide of popular favour upon which he was now sailing, and thus work his ruin. He saw this, perhaps more clearly than any one else. But he saw also, that the welfare of the Republic called loudly for the application of the severest measures. He calmly surveyed the sacrifices which duty required of him, and with a magnanimity which is one of his greatest glories, he resolved to pay the penalty. Sweeping aside every consideration of self-interest, he determined now to bring on the question of punishment, and cost what it might, to rid the State of those who had conspired to bring about its overthrow. Accordingly, when the Fathers had assembled, he arose and put the question, and straightway the momentous debate began.

The first to speak was Silanus, the Consul-elect, who without hesitation gave it as his opinion that the prisoners should be put to death. After he had resumed his seat, senator after senator arose and declared that his sentiments and judgment upon this question were identical with those of Silanus, till at last it came to the turn of Julius Cæsar, Prætor-elect, who, in an elaborate and ornate speech, dissented from the Consul. According to the view taken by him, the punishment proposed was not by any means adequate to the offence. It was not severe enough. In his eyes death was not a punishment, but a release from many and grievous miseries. He came and laid his icy hand on men's hearts, and from that moment there was no longer left behind any sense either of good or of ill. But independently of this, which after all was but the opinion of a certain school of philosophers, he maintained that the penalty of death was new to the Republic, against its laws, and opposed to its constitution. For though the heinous nature of a criminal's actions might justify the taking of his life, yet that act of supreme power set a very bad example to the chiefs of a free State. Of course, when authority of so unlimited a character was vested in the persons of men of well-known and well-tried virtue, its use was sure to be rare, and its effect in most cases salutary. But when that same power chanced to fall into the hands of men of inferior mould, of unsound principles, of unstable virtue, the results were invariably disastrous, and the end, intolerable tyranny. Any danger of this kind was not to be apprehended in the present times, and under the Consulship of men such as were Cicero and his colleague. In other times, however, and under Consuls of a different stamp, if once the sword of supreme power was drawn by a decree of the Senate, there was no means of knowing what mischief it might work before it was once again thrust back into the scabbard.

After thus arguing against the death-penalty, he gave his own method for dealing with the criminals. This was to confiscate their property, to imprison them in the various cities of Italy, to make those cities responsible for their safe keeping, and to decree that, in future, it should be a capital offence for any one to appeal either to the Senate or the people for a mitigation of this sentence.

Now that the two opinions of the senators were before the assembly, the next question to be asked was—Which of the two should be adopted and carried into execution? Cæsar's excellent speech had made a deep impression on the Fathers. Its reasoning staggered Silanus, who began to excuse and mitigate the severity which at first he had advocated. Cicero's friends also were won over to acquiesce in the views, and to adopt the measures proposed by Cæsar, for they saw that these were fraught with fewer evil consequences; nay, that if they were carried into execution, they would free him from all fear of any evil consequences whatever.

The Consul, seeing the turn that had been given to the debate, rose to put the question, and, before putting it, delivered an oration, which is the fourth against Catiline. He examined both views—that advanced by Silanus, and that defended by Cæsar; and, seeming to observe a perfect neutrality, equally commended them both. But while so doing, he laboured with all the skill of a consummate orator, and all the wisdom of a prudent statesman, to turn the wavering senators to adopt the opinion of Silanus. This was his own opinion, and he had determined to carry it into effect, for he plainly saw that the cloud of dangers which hung over the Republic, and threatened it with a hideous and destructive storm, could in no other way be dissipated than by the infliction on the conspirators of the severest penalties that the Senate could impose. His eloquent



harangue broke down all opposition. The death-penalty was voted, and carried out on the following day. Cicero stood over the entrance of the Tullianun prison, and, when the last of the conspirators had ceased to live, announced the fact to the assembled crowd by the solemn word "Vixerunt".

*Synopsis of the Fourth Oration against Catiline.*

EXORDIUM.

Makes his hearers *benevolent, attentive, and docile.*

PROPOSITION.

A conclusion about the conspiracy must be arrived at before night. The opinions of Silanus and of Cæsar.

THE CONTENTION, OR DIFFERENCE OF OPINIONS.

He explains, more at large, the opinions of Silanus and of Cæsar. He shows that the punishment of the conspirators will be just. He makes known to them the fearless strength of his own mind.

PERORATION.

He passes in review the helps which are available. In order to diminish their fear of the conspirators, he points out the causes for punishing them. He commends to their care, himself, his son, and the Republic.

*Analysis of the Exordium.*

BENEVOLENT.

He makes the audience *benevolent*, by declaring that he is grateful to them, because of their goodwill towards himself; that he is not solicitous about himself, because of his love for the Fatherland; that he is anxious about his family, because of their grief.

## ATTENTIVE.

He makes them *attentive*, by an exhortation to take measures for their own safety; to look well to the interests of the Republic.

## DOCILE.

He makes them *docile*, by a description of the conspirators who are worse than all others, and are condemned by the Senate.

*The Proposition.*

## HE DECLARES THE CONSPIRACY

- (1) To be greater than people think, and, therefore, a conclusion concerning it must be arrived at before night. (2) To be most widespread, and, therefore, speedily to be punished.

## HE LAYS BEFORE THEM THE OPINION

- (1) Of Silanus, who maintains that the conspirators should be put to death. (2) Of Cæsar, who does not wish that they should be put to death, but that they should be most severely punished in many other ways.

*The Contention, or Difference of Opinions.*

## THE PRUDENT SEVERITY OF CÆSAR AND OF SILANUS.

- (1) Of Cæsar, who grants the conspirators their lives, but excludes them from the favour of the Sempronian Law; looks upon them, not as citizens, but as enemies; inveighs against Lentulus as a spendthrift; consigns them all to perpetual imprisonment; and prohibits any one from ever petitioning either Senate or people for a mitigation of their sentence. (2) Of Silanus, who would have them condemned to death for conspiracy to

set fire to the city ; to massacre the citizens ; to seize upon the command of the city and of the world ; to harass the married and the unmarried.

THE PUNISHMENT OF THE CONSPIRATORS IS JUST.

He explains the justice of their punishment, by comparisons ; he illustrates it, by examples.

THE FORTITUDE OF THE CONSUL.

He feels that all men stand shoulder to shoulder with him in defence of the Republic—the knights, the tribunes, the officers of the treasury, the scribes, the freeborn, the freedmen, the very slaves.

### *The Peroration.*

ENUMERATION.

The Peroration contains an enumeration of the help at their side, so that they need not fear the conspirators ; of the causes, in order that they may punish these men.

An amplification, in which he commends to them (1) himself, because of the multitude of his enemies ; the strength of his mind ; his contempt of death ; the glory which he has obtained ; the dangers which are to come ; his abandonment of his province and of its honours.

- (2) His son, on account of his tender age, and of his father.
- (3) The Republic, for the safety of the Senate and of the people ; for the preservation of things both sacred and profane.

## CHAPTER III.

### SPEECHES FOR ARCHIAS, MARCELLUS, AND LIGARIUS.

#### SECTION I.

#### *Speech for Archias.*

IN the year before Christ 121, and during the Consulship of Metellus and Afranius, there came to Rome a Greek poet named Aulus Licinius Archias. He was born at Antioch, and when he came to the Roman capital to seek his fortune, and, like so many others, to win for himself a name, he was barely twenty years of age. Though born in a foreign land, he yet enjoyed the rights of Roman citizenship; for his talents had secured for him the patronage of the Luculli, who by their influence had had him enrolled among the citizens of Heraclea,<sup>1</sup> which, being allied to Rome, could confer upon him that proud title, and admit him to a share in the many privileges which that title everywhere secured.

In a short time he won for himself a very considerable reputation, and was much sought after both by those who possessed a cultivated literary taste, and by those who pretended to possess one. Among those who very early in life came under his influence and profited by his lessons, was the great Roman orator Cicero, who seems to have held him

<sup>1</sup> This city stood between the rivers Aciris and Siris, in Lucania, a part of lower Italy. It was founded by the Larentines, B.C. 428.

in the highest esteem, and to have had a great idea of his poetical genius. Thus honoured by the learned and petted by the great, the days must have passed pleasantly enough for him, who in these days would perhaps be called the "society poet".

Dark clouds, however, were obscuring the serene sky beneath which he had for years been basking in the sunshine of prosperity. The storm was soon to burst upon him, and from a quarter, too, whence he least expected it. An accident set fire to the Archives of Heraclea, and scattered to the winds the blackened ashes of its treasures. In those Archives were preserved the registers which contained the names of all those who had the right of its citizenship. The title, therefore, of Archias to these privileges had vanished into thin air. He was now at the mercy of any one, who through envy or through malice, might be urged to contest his claims.

One such malignant enemy was found in the person of a certain Gratus, who for some reason which has not transpired, called in question the right of Archias to the title "Roman citizen," and asked for the proofs which would establish his claim. These, of course, could not be produced, and consternation filled the heart of the poet. But in his day of trial, timely aid was close at hand. His illustrious friend and pupil speedily came to his assistance, and when the case was brought before the Court, the greatest orator of Rome stood up and proved beyond either doubt or cavil what his enemy imagined could be demonstrated only by documentary evidence which the flames had consumed. His speech on this occasion can hardly be called the legal pleading of an advocate. He himself calls it a *new* style, one to which the Bar was unaccustomed. It is rather a magnificent panegyric upon the pursuit of letters, and upon those who devote their lives to the cultivation of them. But while extolling the

advantages to be derived from a study of the literary masterpieces of the age and of preceding times, he establishes by unanswerable arguments the fact of Archias' citizenship.

The claims of this poet to fame rest, at present, upon the few fragments of his writings which have reached our times. These detached pieces consist of about forty epigrams upon various subjects. They were gathered together and published in the Greek Anthology. Any one who will carefully read through them, will be at a loss to reconcile the high-flown language, about the genius and the reputation of his client, which Cicero thought fit to employ in his speech. Anything more ordinary, more commonplace, it would be difficult to discover.

Competent critics affirm, that he is a servile imitator of Tarentinus Leonidas and of Antipater. The subjects chosen by him are subjects that have been worn well nigh threadbare by other writers, and at best his productions are only very inferior copies of the models upon which he has worked. It must, however, be remembered, that these epigrams are not the only poetical works which have flowed from the pen of Archias. He wrote also a considerable poem on the Cimbric wars, and began one upon the Consulship of Cicero. Very probably the great orator was thinking of these works when he spoke so highly of the merits of Archias as a writer. The remnants which have been handed down to us are, probably enough, but the sweepings of his note-book, mere squibs fired off, perhaps, to amuse a friend, and lacking both the weight and the polish which were, no doubt, to be found in his more ambitious productions.

The speech was spoken either in the year before Christ 62, or in the year 60. Cicero was then forty-six years of age. His brother Quintus is said to have presided at the trial.

*Synopsis of the Speech.*

## EXORDIUM.

Conciliates the audience to be *benevolent* towards Cicero himself, because of his gratitude to Archias.

*Attentive*, by promising to them quite a novel kind of pleading.

*Docile*, by clearly laying before them the proposition which he is going to prove.

## NARRATION.

He makes known to them the country whence Archias came, and the studies which have occupied his leisure.

He tells them of his high repute, and of his coming to Italy.

His adoption into the citizenship of Heraclea and of Rome.

## CONFIRMATION.

He proves that Archias is already a Roman citizen.

That, if he is not, he is worthy to be one.

## PERORATION.

He begs them to preserve for him his right to the citizenship of Rome.

He expresses a hope that his pleading has given pleasure to the judges.

*Analysis of the Speech for Archias.**Analysis of the Exordium.*

## BENEVOLENCE.

He conciliates towards himself the *benevolence* of the audience, by showing his gratitude to his former master, who incited him to study; moulded and trained his voice for eloquence.

ATTENTION.

He awakens their *attention*, by a novel kind of pleading, which will deal with polite learning, and be delivered before a most learned body of men.

DOCILITY.

He makes them *docile*, by stating the two points which he is going to establish : (1) that Archias is already a Roman citizen ; (2) if he is not, that he ought to be one.

*The Narration.*

THE STUDIES

of Archias from his early youth ; which studies were productive of works worthy of publication.

HIS COUNTRY, ANTIOCH,

rich in the goods which a prosperous fortune bestows ; illustrious by reason of the splendour of its learning.

HIS FAME

throughout all Asia ; throughout all Greece.

HIS COMING TO ITALY,

in which he was made a citizen by the inhabitants of Tarentum, Rhegium, and Naples ; was held in high esteem by the Luculli, the Metelli, by Scaurus, and by the Catuli, &c.

HIS GOING TO HERACLEA,

where his deserts, aided by the influence of Lucullus, made him a citizen.

HIS ADMISSION

to Roman citizenship by the Law of Plautus, by the fact of domicile, by the declaration of his claim before the Prætor.



*The Confirmation.*

## ARCHIAS IS A ROMAN CITIZEN.

- (1) He was a citizen of Heraclea, as Lucullus and the ambassadors of Heraclea bear witness.
- (2) He had a domicile at Rome, which he chose as the abode of all his efforts and of all his fortunes.
- (3) He made the declaration of his claim before the Prætor, a most scrupulously exact man, and one, moreover, who was most faithful in his guardianship of the public registers.
- (4) He was a citizen of many federate cities—Rhegium, Locris, Naples, Tarentum.
- (5) He used the rights of Roman citizens—he made a will, succeeded to an inheritance, received benefactions from the treasury.

## HE IS WORTHY OF THE ROMAN CITIZENSHIP.

- (1) On account of his poetry, which is useful to orators and to the leaders of the Republic.
- (2) Which delights us in every stage of our life, in every variety of fortune, in every place, at every time.
- (3) Which ennobles, by breathing into us a divine breath; by making its devotees a sacred race, and venerated by all.
- (4) On account of his love of the Roman people, by which love he was moved to celebrate the victory of Marius over the Cimbri; the victories of Lucullus over Mithridates; the Consulship of Cicero; and the praises of the judges. Therefore, he was highly esteemed by the judges, as Ennius was by Africanus; as various writers were by Alexander; as Theophanes was by Pompey; as a wretched poetaster was by Sylla; as the poets of Cordova were by Metellus; as Accius was by Brutus.

*Peroration.*

HE BEGS, FIRST, FOR ARCHIAS :

That he may be confirmed in his rights as a Roman citizen, because of his remarkable modesty, his dignity, his accomplishments, his genius.

He asks this on account of his case, which is established by the Law of Plautus ; by the authority of the municipal town of Heraclea ; by the testimony of Lucullus, a man of consular dignity ; by the registers of Metellus, the Prætor.

He asks it on account of the work performed by him ; for by his writings he covered with glory both Marius and Lucullus ; he began a work to celebrate the praises of Cicero and the judges.

He asks it on account of his poetical office, which has ever been considered a sacred one, and which is actually so named by very many.

HE BEGS FOR HIMSELF :

That whatever has been said in accordance with the custom of the Bar, may afford them satisfaction, that whatever he has said in any way unusual and contrary to that custom, may not cause them any dissatisfaction.

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SECTION II.

*Speech for Marcellus.*

In the fifty-second year before Christ, Marcus Claudius Marcellus held the Consulship, having as his colleague Sergius Sulpicius Rufus. He was a man who, though of plebeian family, could yet count among his ancestors and friends, many who were the noblest and most illustrious in

the land. Among these he could look proudly back to that famous Marcellus after whom he was named, who at Nola checked the victorious Hannibal, captured Syracuse, and fought with brilliant success against the Carthaginians in southern Italy. He seems to have been devoted heart and soul to the Senate, and therefore looked with the fiercest indignation upon the diminution of its power and its dignity, a diminution which was the natural consequence of the ambitious aims of such a man as Cæsar.

He foresaw so clearly that the military successes of that brilliant general would fire his soul with designs detrimental to the true interests of the Republic, that in a full Senate, and as Consul, he proposed that his command in Gaul should be taken from him. His motion was negatived; probably enough his fears were regarded as chimerical; but nothing could root out of his mind the dislike and the distrust which he had conceived with respect to Cæsar. Accordingly, it is not to be wondered at that when the rupture between Pompey and Cæsar occurred, Marcellus should be found in the ranks that were opposed to the conqueror of Gaul.

With Pompey he passed over into Illyricum; thence into Thessaly; and when the hostile armies met in deadly battle at Pharsalia, he was present, and fought with a devoted courage and heroism, on which, however, victory did not cast the sunshine of her smile. After that bloody struggle, Cæsar, with characteristic magnanimity, showed himself disposed to treat with the utmost mildness all those who surrendered to his arms. But Marcellus was either too proud to submit to the victor, or too hostile to accept his clemency. He retired to Mytelene, and determined to pass his days there in that lettered ease in which so many of the noble Romans of that date chose to bury themselves. He seemed to be disgusted alike with the party for which he had fought, and with the party against which he had fiercely

flung himself. It became with him a fixed idea that, no matter which of them prevailed, Rome would have a tyrant for her master. Therefore, buried amid his books, and occupied with the study of philosophy, he strove to forget the turmoil through which he had passed, and the strife of parties which still waxed as fierce as ever.

Seneca relates that when Brutus was on his way from Asia, he paid his friend a visit at Mytelene, and found him more devoted to literary pursuits and in a happier frame of mind than he had ever been at Rome. He was living there without a hope of ever again being able to set foot on his fatherland; for he would not stoop to the conqueror, nor would the conqueror force upon him a pardon which he was unwilling to accept.

But that which Marcellus would not do for himself, his friends in Rome were determined to do for him. Seeing the numerous acts of clemency performed by Cæsar in the case of many who had been his most bitter enemies, the Senate resolved to petition for the return of Marcellus. Accordingly, when Cæsar was one day present, they threw themselves upon their knees, and implored him to forget the obstinacy of him for whom they craved this favour, and grant him a pardon, as he had so graciously granted it to others.

Cæsar knew perfectly well the character of the man for whom they implored his mercy. He knew his active spirit, his deeply-rooted hostility to himself, and he was moreover sceptical about the occupations which filled up the time of the exile. He did not altogether believe in his studious habits, his love of books, and of philosophy. He had received intelligence of plots to overturn his government, and knew full well that Marcellus would be one of the first, one of the most eager to lend a helping hand in effecting his downfall. Therefore he seemed to hesitate. He fell into a

kind of reverie, and for a few moments was lost in thought. His great heart, however, prevailed over his more prudent judgment, and he granted to the prayers of that venerable assembly what he would sternly have refused to an enemy so persistent in his hostility as Marcellus had proved himself to be.

Cicero was present in the Senate when this act of mercy was performed. Since his return from the disastrous war in which Pompey, his friend, had lost the prize which Cæsar now held in his grasp, he had studiously kept silence, not mixing in any of the senatorial debates, not pleading at the Bar, wrapping himself up in his grief at the defeat of his party, and the loss of so many of his friends. But this act so stirred his heart, that he was not content to thank his benefactor in the brief words in which the rest expressed their feelings; he rose in his place, and poured out from the abundance of a soul moved to its lowest depths by an unexpected manifestation of clemency, that eloquent panegyric in which, after extolling the military exploits of Cæsar, he sets above them all, the deed of mercy which had made that day for ever memorable. In what we may call the second part of this splendid harangue, he does his utmost to dispel the suspicions entertained by Cæsar, concerning the hostile intentions of Marcellus, by assuring him that since the tranquillity of the State and the safety of all depend upon his life, that life must of necessity be most dear to all, and be to them the object of their tenderest solicitude.

News of his pardon was carried with all speed to Marcellus. Among Cicero's letters, there are several <sup>1</sup> in which he strongly urges his return; we cannot doubt, then, that he was among the first to impart to him the glad tidings that the gates of Rome were once more thrown wide open for his

<sup>1</sup> These are 7, 8, 9, 10, *Ad Familiares*.

ingress. Marcellus, however, does not seem to have been so eager for that event as his friends were. It was only with the utmost difficulty that he at last brought himself to accept the proffered favour, and turn his steps homewards.

For this purpose he went to the Athenian port of Piræus, and having arranged everything for his passage, was to sail for Italy on the following day. But he was destined never again to set foot on his native land. The friends who so eagerly awaited his arrival, who watched every messenger that brought despatches, who counted the hours that must elapse before he could arrive, were waiting for one who would never return. It seems that there was among those who shared his exile, a certain P. Magius. This man appears to have been deeply attached to him, and to have been thrown into despair at the thought of his departure. The agony of his grief at the idea of separating from his friend culminated in what, in these days, we should consider to be a most romantic and sensational event. He seized a dagger, and having first stabbed his friend to the heart, next plunged it into his own bosom, and fell dead by his side. (B.C. 46.)

By a strange coincidence, it happened that at the very time of this tragical occurrence, Sergius Sulpicius, the former colleague of Marcellus in the Consulship, was at Athens. On hearing of the murder, he at once flew to the spot, and undertook to perform all the last rites for the remains of his unfortunate countryman. His intention was to have buried him within the precincts of the city; but this was frustrated by the refusal of the Athenians to admit the body. Foiled in his benevolent wishes, he caused the corpse of Marcellus to be carried within the enclosure of the Academy. Placing it upon a funeral pyre, he had it burnt, and the ashes deposited in an urn. On his departure from Athens, he left a sum of money to erect a monument in which this urn should be put,

that the name of his friend might not utterly perish from off the face of the earth.<sup>1</sup>

*Analysis of the Speech for Marcellus.*

*Analysis of the Exordium.*

ATTENTIVE.

He attracts the *attention* of the audience, by explaining to them (1) the reasons of his silence, namely, his sorrow and his bashfulness; and (2) the reasons for once again appearing as a public speaker, which reasons are: Cæsar's mildness, clemency, moderation, and wisdom.

BENEVOLENT.

He makes them *benevolent*, by his praise of Cæsar and of Marcellus.

DOCILE.

He secures their *docility*, by a brief statement of that about which he is going to speak.

*First Part of the Speech.*

HE PRAISES CÆSAR'S FORTITUDE.

In this, he has surpassed other men, by the magnitude of the contests in which he has been engaged; by the number of the battles which he has fought; by the different countries in which he has commanded; by the celerity of his movements; by the different character of the wars which he has waged.

He praises that fortitude, because of the nations which he has brought under the dominion of Rome. Those nations are barbarous in cruelty; innumerable in multitude; widespread in extent; and

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Forsyth in his excellent *Life of Cicero*, vol. ii. p. 124, says that Marcellus came back to Rome. The account of his death given in the preceding page is taken from the letter of Sergius Sulpicius to Cicero.

abounding in all the means for successfully carrying on war.

HE PRAISES HIS CLEMENCY.

This procures for him a glory which is peculiarly his own, not shared by centurion or by prefect; by cohort or by company; not even by Fortune herself. That clemency is like unto God's. It is loved by men; it gives joy to the Senate; it is luminous, as an example to posterity; it is superior to himself and to victory; it is a bright star of hope to the peaceful.

HE PLACES CÆSAR ABOVE POMPEY.

Because Cæsar aimed at peace; saved those who were desirous of peace; and spared the vanquished. But Pompey would have been more wrathful, and would have threatened even those who had been neutral in the contest.

HE EXHORTS CÆSAR

to persevere in these noble sentiments, because his mind has been cast in a liberal mould, and in one that has shaped it unto wise and prudent measures.

*Second Part of the Speech.*

He refutes two of Cæsar's utterances.

I. THAT THERE IS A PLOT AGAINST HIM.

Cicero endeavours to heighten his suspicion. Then he dissolves that suspicion into thin air, for no plot is on foot by the members of Cæsar's party; nor is there any by the adherents of Pompey; for either these adherents have fallen in battle, or they have become Cæsar's friends, and depend upon him for safety. Lastly, he exhorts him to care for his own safety, by firmly establishing justice; by restoring



public confidence ; by repressing the unbridled passions of the people ; by caring for the increase of the population.

## II. THAT HE HAS LIVED LONG ENOUGH FOR GLORY.

He denies this assertion, because Cæsar lives, not for himself, but for the Republic ; his glory will be imperfect, unless the Republic be firmly established. All that will remain to him will be admiration for his empires and his provinces, for the victories which he has gained, and the triumphs which he has won. Those who come after him will blame many of his deeds.

He extols his glory, because he had shown clemency to those against whom he had reason to show his wrath.

He promises him security, because of the patrols that circulate through the city, the guards stationed in different places, the readiness of all well-wishers of the State to interpose their own persons between him and his enemies.

### *Peroration.*

He thanks Cæsar in the name of all the senators, and especially in his own name.

He makes known to all, his own personal love for Marcellus, by his sorrow as long as he was in exile, by his joy when he was recalled by Cæsar.

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## SECTION III.

### *Speech for Ligarius.*

Shortly before the rupture between Cæsar and Pompey, a certain Caius Considius had been appointed Proconsul of

Africa. As his Lieutenant, he chose Quintus Ligarius, a man who proved by his after conduct that the selection made by his chief was a discreet one. For, he possessed that sense of justice, that mercy, and that wise moderation, which it was so rare in those days to find among the rapacious officials of Rome. By these excellent qualities, he so endeared himself to the inhabitants of the province, that, when Considius was about to depart to canvass for the Consulship of the Republic, they made a humble petition that Ligarius, during his absence, might be intrusted with the government.

While the Proconsul was away from his province, the breach between the two great generals of the Republic widened daily more and more, till at last their disagreement ended, as men saw that it would end, in a civil war. When this broke out, Ligarius chose neither side, but determined to remain neutral, and amid the storms of the contest, to steer his course clear of the troubled waters. He was able to pursue this line of policy till the arrival of Publius Attius Varus, who had been driven out of Italy by Cæsar. The moment he set foot in the province, all men gathered round him as a leader. With the greatest avidity he seized upon the command offered to him, and threw in his lot, as was natural, with the opponents of Cæsar. Previously to his coming, it had been the fixed determination of Ligarius to return to Italy, but this change in the tide of affairs, prevented him from carrying out his design.

Almost against his own will, he found himself ranged under the standard of Pompey, and seeing that circumstances had so shaped his career, he entered heart and soul into the cause which fate seemed to have elected for him. Having once taken up that cause, his character was such that he adhered to it with a fidelity which shows us the constancy of his mind. Defeat did not dishearten him; disaster did not extinguish the fire of his hope. He was

one of those who afterwards renewed in Africa the war which Pompey had unsuccessfully waged. When at Thapsus the forces of the republican party were utterly routed by the well-trained legionaries of Cæsar, Ligarius was one of the many to whom the victorious general granted the life which obstinate, and apparently unreasoning hostility to his person, had forfeited.

But knowing well the indomitable spirit of the man, the conqueror sternly forbade him to set foot in Italy. Ligarius accepted the pardon, but never forgave the man who bestowed it upon him. He remained in hopeless exile; for he himself would not stoop to solicit a favour, and his hostility was so well known, that Cæsar was determined not to listen to any supplication made on his behalf either by friend or by kindred. Although this resolve was no secret among the adherents of the Dictator, and was widely known in Rome, yet the well-wishers of Ligarius, his friends and his relatives, were not without hope. Cæsar had performed so many magnanimous acts, had given so many proofs of a soul high above all petty feelings of resentment, that they determined to make a united appeal on behalf of the exile.

Headed by his two brothers, these well-wishers of Ligarius began to take the preliminary steps for presenting their petition. When all was ready, they made their supplication to Cæsar, who, though he did not at once accede to their request, yet gave them to understand that he would consider the matter, and that his reflection upon the case would ultimately result in a pardon.<sup>1</sup> As soon as this news began to spread abroad, Tubero, Cicero's brother-in-law, supported by Caius Pansa, interposed, and endeavoured to defeat the benevolent intentions of Cæsar. Personal hostility to Ligarius was the chief cause of this ungenerous proceeding.

<sup>1</sup> Cicero, *Epist. ad Familiares*, vi. 14.

For when the Senate, on the outbreak of war between Cæsar and Pompey, had appointed Tubero to replace Considius in Africa, Ligarius, acting under the orders of Varus, prevented him from setting foot on land, and forced him to sail out of the harbour.

Another motive also is suggested by some authors. It is said that Tubero was privy to the real sentiments of Cæsar with respect to Ligarius; and by bringing on an accusation against the latter for having waged war in Africa, contrary to the interests of Cæsar, might enable the Dictator, with at least some show of justice, to refuse a pardon to one whom he knew to be so bitterly hostile to his person and his power. Therefore, on the intervention of Tubero, Cæsar appointed a commission over which he himself presided, and named a day upon which the case should be publicly tried.

It was in these circumstances that Cicero undertook the defence of his friend. The day of trial came. Cæsar is said to have gone to the Court holding in his hand the decree of condemnation, and to have taken his seat upon the bench of judgment, stimulated by curiosity to hear what defence Cicero could make, rather than animated with a desire to do an act of clemency and justice, should that pleading prove convincing. Tubero, who was an orator of no mean capacity, opened the case, and proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that Ligarius was a most dangerous and bitter foe to Cæsar. After him Cicero rose to defend his client, and with playful sarcasm commented upon the novelty of the accusation made against his friend, to wit, that he had been in Africa. As the speech went on, Cæsar several times changed colour, and when at last the orator spoke of Pharsalia, and turning suddenly upon Tubero, asked him what he was doing there; at whom he was aiming; what spirit animated his heart; whose life he was seeking to extinguish—the paper containing the condemnation is said to have fallen from his hands, and his

whole body to have trembled violently. The triumph of eloquence was complete. Cæsar pardoned Ligarius, and by that act added one more instance of magnanimity to the long list of those generous, noble actions which his great soul had already performed.

News of this pardon was at once despatched to Ligarius, who lost no time in coming to Rome. The clemency of the Dictator made very little impression upon his heart. At Rome he was as hostile to Cæsar as he had been on the field of Thapsus. That hostility, after smouldering for two years, at last found vent and burst into a flame, when Brutus and Cassius formed the design of taking Cæsar's life. He entered eagerly into their conspiracy, and was one of those who would most willingly have dealt the death-blow.

Before the fatal day arrived he fell sick, and was unable to leave his bed. Brutus came to visit him, and lamented the unfortunate circumstance of his illness. Ligarius at once sat up, and taking the hand of Brutus, said: "Speak but the word, Brutus; and if thou hast any action worthy of thyself to propose to me, I am well". Being thus confined to his bed, he was not present in the Curia Pompeii, in which the Senate met upon the ever-memorable Ides of March. Had he been there, he would have been one of the first to strike his dagger home in the heart of the great Julius. Appian, in his *History of the Civil Wars*, says that Ligarius was one of the murderers. Two years afterwards he met his fate in the proscriptions of the Second Triumvirate. (B.C. 42.)

Cicero's speech for Ligarius was delivered in the year B.C. 46, when the orator was in the sixty-first year of his age.

*Analysis of the Speech for Ligarius.*

*Exordium.*

ATTENTIVE.

He makes Cæsar attentive, by submitting to his notice a crime which is quite novel, and before that day unheard of.

BENEVOLENT.

He causes him to entertain towards Cicero himself sentiments of benevolence, by appealing to his well-known mercy, and by extolling the many instances of it which he has already given.

HOSTILE

to his adversary, who had been on the side of Pompey.

*Narration.*

DEPARTURE OF LIGARIUS FOR AFRICA.

Ligarius went to Africa when there was not even a suspicion of war, and when he was Lieutenant of Considius.

HIS SOJOURN IN AFRICA.

While under the command of Considius he was beloved by all, and by Considius was appointed ruler of Africa.

AFTER THE DEPARTURE OF CONSIDIUS.

He was, as long as peace lasted, most pleasing to all; and when war broke out, he did not take any side in it.

ON THE ARRIVAL OF VARUS.

He gave up his command, and against his own will, remained in Africa.

*Confirmation.*

FROM THE PERSON OF CÆSAR,

who spared Cicero and Tubero himself.

FROM THE PERSON OF TUBERO,

who is (1) *cruel*, seeking the death of Roman citizens, and striving to hinder the merciful designs of the victor; (2) *injurious* to the most illustrious men, whom he calls "scoundrels," to Pompey himself, whom he makes out to be their leader; (3) *guilty*

*of the same fault.* He went to Africa to fight against the interests of Cæsar ; he joined Pompey, who was fighting against Cæsar ; he took up arms against Cæsar.

*Peroration.*

HE MOVES CÆSAR TO MERCY.

By reflections upon the person of Ligarius, of his friends, of his brothers, of Cæsar himself.

## CHAPTER IV.

### SPEECH FOR MILO.

As the oration which Cicero delivered for his friend Milo is, on all hands, considered to be a masterpiece of forensic eloquence, it is worthy of a deeper and more attentive study than are his other works. It is for this reason that we here offer for the consideration of the student, a few historical and critical remarks which will perhaps serve to make him enter with greater zest into the examination of this polished model. These remarks shall be confined, first, to the personages who gave rise to the speech ; and, secondly, to the rhetorical means which the great orator employed to extricate his client from the very grave peril in which the encounter upon the Appian Way with his foe Clodius had involved him. First, then, let us consider the character of the man who lost his life in that unfortunate affray.

CLODIUS. This was Publius Clodius, son of Appius Clodius, a scion of one of the most illustrious families of Rome. His name stands out prominent upon the roll of that noble house like a foul blot upon a glitteringly white, silken garment. He is, in fact, the only one that is a disgrace to it, and that has not added to its lustre by some action worthy of record. In one of the darkest periods of Rome's history, a period which was peculiarly corrupt, he was the most foully licentious of the immoral herd that thronged the resorts of pleasure, and stared lasciviously upon the passers-by. Bold, dissolute, seditious,



factionous, and turbulent, he had withal a fascinating address, a persuasive eloquence, which enabled him to win the hearts of the disorderly crew with which he surrounded himself. His turbulent spirit displayed itself very early in life. When serving in Asia, under his father-in-law Lucullus, he used all his influence with the enervated and demoralised soldiery, to withdraw them from their allegiance to their chief. For this act of insubordination and treachery, he was ignominiously deprived of his command, and sent back to Rome.

Later on, when through the influence of Marcius Rex, this escapade was condoned, and he was put at the head of the fleet which was under the direction of that commander, he was defeated and captured by the pirates against whom he was sent; and had it not been for the terror with which the prestige of Pompey had inspired them, Clodius might never have regained his liberty, nay, might have forfeited even his life. We next hear of him at Antioch, whence his factious disposition obliged him to flee in order to save himself from the resentment of enemies, whom he had goaded into desperate hate against himself. From Antioch he came to Rome, and by his undoubted ability succeeded in gaining for himself the office of Quæstor.

It was during this time that he was guilty of an offence, which in the eyes of his contemporaries, branded him with the guilt of sacrilege. The ladies of Rome were celebrating at the house of Pompeia, Cæsar's wife, the mysteries of the Bona Dea. From these religious rites every man was most rigorously excluded. Clodius, however, by means of a servant, succeeded in introducing himself disguised as a woman. By some mistake which he made, he was discovered, and with difficulty escaped from the wrath of the outraged matrons. Next day all Rome was ringing with the scandal which had occurred. Public indignation ran high. The

Senate ordered the Consuls to have the sacrilegious wretch judged by the people ; but one of the tribunes devoted to Clodius interposed his veto, and arrested the execution of the decree. Then succeeded stormy debates, till at last, on the motion of Hortensius, it was agreed that the case should be tried by the Prætor and a certain number of judges whom he should select. This proposition was accepted by both parties. The judges were chosen, and the day of trial came.

Clodius, in his defence, had recourse to the usual expedient of criminals in like cases ; he endeavoured to prove, that on the day when the alleged sacrilege was said to have been committed, he was not in Rome. Cicero, however, deposed that on the day in question, Clodius was with him at Rome in his house. All seemed to go on fairly enough for the first two days. On the third day matters assumed quite a different aspect. The judges suffered themselves to be bribed, and out of the fifty-six who sat to try the case, thirty-one voted for the acquittal of Clodius.

Thus whitewashed in the eyes of the law, but conscious that he was stained in the eyes of his countrymen with a blot of the deepest dye, he determined to make all who had in any way aided in stamping it upon him, feel the full weight of his vengeance. To be able to do this, he must have power. Therefore, he aimed at the tribuneship. His noble birth precluded him from that office ; but his ingenuity soon discovered a way out of the difficulty. He caused himself to be adopted by a plebeian named Fonteius, and thus became eligible for the much-coveted position. That adoption must, however, have the sanction of public authority, and this sanction he was able to secure by means of Pompey and of Cæsar, who abetted his projects, - first, to punish the Senate and Cicero for their opposition to the triumvirate, and in the next place, to secure the adhesion to their party, of one so bold, so daring, and so popular with the lower

classes. Accordingly, with the aid of these two influential men, Clodius was elected tribune of the people.

His first step was to cause the passing of several laws which won him immense favour among the people. When quite sure of their affection and of his own strength, he brought about, by means of the Consuls Piso and Gabinius, the enactment of another law, inflicting the punishment of exile upon any one who, without a formal trial, had put to death any Roman citizen. This law struck straight at Cicero, though it did not mention his name. The orator at once saw its drift, put on mourning, and surrounded by a body of the most illustrious citizens, claimed public protection. Clodius on his side gathered to his standard a band of gladiators, and paraded the streets armed to the teeth, and ready for the commission of any act of violence.

Cicero, seeing that this ruffian was backed by the two Consuls, and secretly favoured by the triumvirate, resolved to go into exile, and thus prevent that bloodshed which he saw was inevitable, if the two parties chanced to meet in the streets of Rome. He accordingly departed, and went to Sicily. At once Clodius passed a law which condemned Cicero to exile. He ordered his property to be confiscated, and his houses to be pillaged and destroyed. These violent measures turned the triumvirs against Clodius. They began to move for Cicero's return. Then Milo made it his business to oppose Clodius, and so matters went on from bad to worse, till at last upon the Appian Way took place the ever-memorable *rencontre* in which the turbulent tribune lost his life.

MILO. Titus Annius Milo is the next personage that claims our attention, as the chief actor in the drama which gave occasion to this celebrated pleading of the great Roman orator. He was born of a plebeian family which had ever rendered itself conspicuous by the signal acts of virtue of

which its members had, one after another, given so many brilliant examples. He himself, following out the traditions of his house, attached himself in the State to that party which opposed, or at least tried to oppose, a barrier to the onward march of anarchy. Bold, active, and energetic, of indomitable courage, and of inflexible will, he was just the man who naturally would be least inclined tamely to submit to the insolence and the outrageous violence of Clodius. In the year of Rome 696 (B.C. 58) he had held the office of tribune, and a few years later, to his horror and dismay, he saw that same office in the hands of Clodius. When, in his pride of power, this furious debauchee had caused Cicero to be banished, his property to be confiscated, and his house to be destroyed, the soul of Milo could no longer brook the effrontery of one who thus set all laws at defiance. He therefore began to move for the recall of him who, at least by his eloquent words, would endeavour to extinguish so dangerous a firebrand.

This act at once drew upon him the fury of Clodius. At the head of his band of gladiators, he openly in the streets of Rome attacked Milo, but, for the first time, met with one who faced him with the courage of a man, and taught him that violence is a weapon which may effectually be used by two persons. Once again the opposing parties came to blows, and once again Clodius had to retire, if not worsted, at least discomfited, and with the uncomfortable conviction that there was now in Rome a man of iron, who would fearlessly oppose him, and give him back blow for blow. After this second collision with the myrmidons of Clodius, Milo cited him before the tribunals to answer for his disorderly, unconstitutional conduct. His good intentions for the benefit of Rome were, however, frustrated by the Consul Metellus, who set aside the prosecution. Clodius thus succeeded in stepping into the Ædileship, from which that action would have ex-

cluded him, and in that office had one year more in which to harass the commonwealth and disturb the public peace.

Seeing that he must depend upon his own right arm for defence against this lawless ruffian, Milo now gathered around him a trained band of gladiators, and thus prepared against all eventualities, calmly set him at defiance. Clodius, thus disconcerted by one who employed against him the very tactics by which he had become a terror to Rome, now had the effrontery to cite Milo before the tribunals for an infraction of the law, in thus maintaining a band of armed men. Pompey thereupon took up the defence of Milo, and quashed the accusation. When, however, Milo later on put up for the Consulship, Pompey abandoned him, and sided with Clodius, who, with his usual audacity, and, on this occasion, with his unwonted imprudence, openly dared to say that unless Milo desisted from his attempt to gain the Consulship, he would in three days cease to live.

THE MEETING ON THE APPIAN WAY. On the 20th of January, in the year of Rome 701 (B.C. 53), Milo was on his way to Lanuvium, whither he was going as chief magistrate of that place, to appoint a Flamen. He was seated in his carriage, wrapped in his cloak, with his wife by his side, and accompanied by a great retinue of servants, among whom also were his body-guard of fighting men, only too ready to begin an affray, should chance present them with a favourable opportunity. About three o'clock in the afternoon, they met Clodius coming from Aricia. He was on horseback, accompanied by some friends, and by thirty armed slaves. The two companies had almost passed each other without anything worse than black looks, when the rear of each party exchanged a few remarks, which doubtless being of an uncomplimentary character, soon ended in blows. Clodius, seeing the scuffle, rode back to the spot, and while asking in a haughty, imperious manner the cause of the

disturbance, was stabbed in the shoulder by one of Milo's slaves. A free fight immediately ensued, during which the wounded Clodius was carried to a neighbouring hostelry. When Milo perceived that his retinue had been attacked, he flung aside his cloak, and leaping in amid the combatants, fought with that courage and determination which had ever characterised him. The slaves of Clodius were utterly routed, and many of them were left either dead or dying on the road. Then Milo—according to the most authentic accounts—hearing that Clodius had been wounded, and knowing that the judgment upon him in consequence would be just as severe as if he had caused him to be slain, ordered his servants to drag him from his shelter, and put him to death.

Milo then proceeded on his journey to Lanuvium, leaving the blood-stained body on the spot where it had fallen. There it was found by Sextus Tediū, a senator, who placed it in a litter, and caused his slaves to carry it to Rome. That night it was laid in the court of his own house, where his wife, with passionate cries of grief, showed it to the populace who crowded thither on the first intimation of the murder. On the following day, the two tribunes, Manutius Plancus and Pompeius Rufus, had the body transferred to the Forum, and laid on the Rostra. Thence, after inflammatory harangues from the tribunes, it was borne into the temple of Curia Hostilia. The populace tore up the benches, and flinging them into the middle of the hall, made of them a funeral pyre on which they placed the body. The flames mounted to the roof, set fire to the building, and destroyed several of the adjoining edifices.

While the Curia was still all ablaze, Milo entered Rome, calm and apparently unconcerned at that which had happened. The mob, goaded to madness by the loss of their leader, and urged on by the harangues of the tribunes,

snatched up brands from the conflagration and marched off to destroy his house. But that resolute man was prepared to meet their violence with an armed force, and compelled them to beat a hasty retreat. Alarmed by the state of anarchy into which this event had thrown the city, the Senate, after much deliberation, proclaimed Pompey sole Consul. He lost no time in appointing a special commission to inquire into the murder of Clodius. Each side was allowed only three days for the examination of witnesses, and a fourth for the pleading of the advocates; the prosecutors were limited to two hours for their attack, and the defendants to three for their reply. In this critical juncture Cicero boldly and fearlessly stood by his friend, and undertook to speak for him at the trial.

The eventful day on which this was to take place at last arrived. The Forum was thronged in every part with an angry crowd, bitterly hostile to Milo. Pompey, surrounded by his guards, took up his position in front of the treasury. The judge and his fifty-one assessors were seated opposite to him. Every avenue to the densely-packed throng was held by troops in glittering armour. It was an unusual spectacle, quite foreign to the customs of the law courts, and necessary only by reason of the excited state of popular feeling. When Cicero mounted the Rostra to open the defence, the novelty of the sight, the imposing array of armed men, the restless multitude, the shout of execration with which they received his opening words, quite unmanned him. He lost nerve, and made but a very lame defence. His client was condemned, only twelve out of the fifty-one assessors voting for his acquittal. He at once went into exile and took up his abode at Marseilles. Cicero, in order to console him, and to wipe out as far as possible the disgrace of his own wretched failure, composed the speech which we now possess, and sent it to him. Milo, after reading this

masterpiece of forensic eloquence, is reported to have said : "O Cicero ! if thou hadst but spoken thus, I should not now be eating these excellent Marseilles mullets ".

MEANS OF DEFENCE. (1) WITH REGARD TO THE FACT. After the death of Clodius, and when a trial was determined upon to examine into the facts of the case, in order to visit the guilty one with the punishment which his crime so richly merited, several means of defence were suggested to Milo's advocate. The first of these was laid before the accused himself by the tribune Cœlius, and by Milo was communicated to Cicero. The tribune advised Milo to represent the encounter on the Appian Way as the effect of chance, as far at least as he was concerned. He pointed out how every circumstance told in favour of this line, and branded as the aggressor Clodius, who had met him at that spot for the express purpose of carrying into effect the threat which, a few days before, he had publicly uttered. He was on horseback, attended by his gladiators all equipped for the fray ; whereas Milo was in his carriage, wrapped up in his cloak, seated by his wife, and accompanied by a retinue of servants, who were more calculated to hamper his movements than to be of any assistance in case of emergency. Therefore, in slaying Clodius he had but used the right of self-defence, a right which every man possesses to repel by force any attempt made upon his life.

To this, Milo added another means, for he declared that he himself had neither slain Clodius, nor given orders to his slaves to do so ; but that some one among these, thinking that his master had met with death at the hands of Clodius, had struck him down to avenge the injury done to his lord.

Others, seeing the weak points in this method, inasmuch as most of the arguments which told against Clodius might, with almost equal effect, be retorted against Milo, strongly advised Cicero to abandon that ground, and to take up another.



This was to deny neither the fact of the murder, nor the intention with which it was committed ; but boldly and without disguise to assert that Milo had slain Clodius, and that in so doing, he had performed a noble deed, deserving of reward rather than of punishment. This was the argument which Brutus made use of in a memorial drawn up by him in defence of Milo. There is in it a force which at first sight does not reveal itself. For, though in an orderly State, in which law reigns supreme, it would be a violation of right and a usurpation of authority to take the law into one's own hands, and inflict punishment before either inquiry had been made or condemnation issued, yet in the case of one who had set himself above all laws, and had defied their enactments, the checking, and, if need be, the crushing of such a one by a man who was at once courageous enough to attempt, and powerful enough to accomplish it, might be regarded as an act of patriotism, to be honoured and recompensed by the approval of every upright man.

(2) WITH REGARD TO THE RIGHT. Cato, and several other influential men who sat in judgment on this case, gave it as their opinion, that the mere fact of the murder ought not to be looked at by itself. They maintained that, even admitting the fact to be true, yet there should also be taken into account the immense good which had accrued to the Republic, in being by that fact freed from the tyrannous ruffianism of Publius Clodius. Cicero at a glance saw the full weight of this argument, and also the danger with which it threatened his cause, unless handled with a skill which few knew better how to employ than he himself did. He therefore accepted it, and after showing in the first part of his discourse the great interest which Clodius had in ridding himself of so formidable an antagonist as Milo undoubtedly had proved himself to be, and also his fixed determination to do so, he next introduced this argument furnished by Cato.

But, skilful tactician as he was, he did not put it forward in the crude way in which it would have been employed by a less able orator. He did not make it an assertion. He introduced it by way of a supposition, and after enumerating all the misdeeds of Clodius, and the merits of any one who should crush a foe so dangerous to the Republic, he then brought forward this argument, and putting it into the mouth of Milo, made him say: "Even though I had been willing to slay him, he gave me the *right* to do so!" By acting thus, he caused it to sink into minds which were prepared to listen to it, and presented it for their acceptance shorn of all the asperities which would have bristled round a direct assertion.

THE INTERVENTION OF THE DEITY. To these various means suggested by the friends and well-wishers of his client, Cicero himself added another argument in his defence. He called to mind the numerous impieties of the murdered man. He had overturned the altars of the gods; he had cut down their sacred groves which interfered with his building projects; dressed as a woman, he had introduced himself into the house of Pompeia, Cæsar's wife, while the mysteries of the Bona Dea were celebrating. All these sacrilegious acts had gone unpunished. True, the Senate had taken cognisance of this last profanation, and appointed a commission to inquire into it. But Clodius, by means of unscrupulous bribery, had won over the judges, and thus escaped the vengeance which men endeavoured to inflict upon him, in vindication of the outraged honour of the gods. These offended deities had taken their own cause into their own hands, and that which men had refused to do for them, they had at last done for themselves.

He pointed out a few significant facts which threw a still brighter light on the view which he took of the matter. Clodius fell mortally wounded before a temple of the Bona

Dea, whose rights he had sacrilegiously profaned ; by his own followers he had been ruthlessly deprived of funeral honours ; his corpse had been torn to pieces in the very place in which his life had been detested ; he had been stricken down at the very moment when men were no longer able to withstand his violence and unbridled licence. All these circumstances pointed to an intervention of providence, which, wearied out by the continual impieties of Clodius, had taken the cause of the gods into its own hands, and employed the sword of Milo to execute their just sentence.

On these three means rests the famous speech which he wrote in defence of his friend. (1) The act of Milo is excusable, because it was done in self-defence. (2) It was made legal, by the interest of the State. (3) It was sanctioned, by the will of the gods.

ARRANGEMENT OF PROOFS. With these various means at his disposal, Cicero had next to consider in what order he should present them, so as to persuade the judges and win them over to adopt his view of the case. Persuasion may be accomplished in three ways. When minds are unprejudiced and seek only for truth, it is sufficient to convince the understanding. Rational men at once yield their assent and adopt our conclusions. At times, also, they are bent to accept them, when the orator succeeds in charming them and catching their assent by the bait of pleasure which his speech holds out to them. But when prejudice has laid hold of the heart, it darkens the understanding so that it cannot see the justice of his remarks, and paralyses the will so that it is unable to do that which otherwise it would readily accomplish, if these did not bind it in their powerful chains.

Cicero had to address his speech to an audience most hostile to the man for whom he was about to plead. The judges were under the influence of Pompey, whom they

feared. They were hampered by the Senate's decrees, which they were bound to respect. They were irritated by the inflexible haughtiness of Milo; and deeply impressed with the idea that any one who takes away another man's life ought himself to be put to death. The populace, also, who thronged the Forum had been embittered against him by the furious tirades of the tribunes, and by the loss of their leader, Clodius, whom he was accused of having murdered. In what way, then, was the orator to present to these men the means of defence with which he was provided? He could not, before persons so disposed, come forward and say that Milo was the instrument chosen by providence to avenge the insults offered to the gods by a sacrilegious wretch, who during his life had been a terror to every upright, honourable man, and a very scourge to the Republic. He could not satisfy them by saying, that in slaying Clodius he had conferred an inestimable benefit upon his country. He could not lead them to believe that Clodius was the aggressor, and that Milo, acting only on the defensive, had used the right which every man possesses—the right of repelling violence by force. These arguments would fall flat and powerless upon minds so preoccupied by the prejudices industriously sown among them. He had, therefore, so to arrange his proofs in favour of his client, as that they would insensibly insinuate themselves into the minds of his audience. Consequently, he begins by directly proving the right of every man to take the life of any one who lies in wait to murder him. This principle pulverises the prejudice which had been implanted in their minds by the vague general preposition that any one who kills another, should himself be punished with death.

Having thus by several examples, drawn from the authority of the people, from precedents furnished by former trials, from laws actually in force, established a solid basis whereon

to build his case, he next introduces the arguments furnished by Cœlius and by Milo himself. By means of an admirable narration of the facts of the case, he shows that Clodius was the aggressor, and that Milo had met him only by the merest chance. He proves these assertions by a variety of circumstances which all tell in favour of Milo and to the prejudice of Clodius. Having shown him to the judges in the light of an assassin, he boldly asserts that Milo had a right to slay the man who had attempted to take his life. As a further proof that this was really the aim of Clodius in that meeting upon the Appian Way, he points out the advantage which the death of Milo would have been to him.; the hatred which he bore him ; the violence of his character ; his oft-repeated threat that Milo would be slain. After a terrible picture of the misdeeds, bloodshed, profligacy, and nameless crimes committed by Clodius, he brings in the argument that if Milo, entering Rome after the murder, and holding aloft the blood-stained sword, had admitted his guilt, it would have been imputed to him as a glorious action worthy of reward and thanks, and not as a crime deserving of punishment. But Milo had not done that ; yet the mere supposition would have upon the judges a telling effect. Having thus prepared them for his new means of defence, he next introduces Milo as the instrument employed by heaven to rid the Republic of a pest, and all good men of a sacrilegious wretch whom the gods thus punished for his offences against themselves.

Such is the order in which the orator arranged his means of defence. Anything more artful, more persuasive, more calculated to please, to convince, and to move, it is impossible to find in the whole range of forensic eloquence.

## GENERAL IDEA OF THE WHOLE DISCOURSE.

## THE EXORDIUM.

The opening sentences are naturally drawn from the circumstances in which the orator began this celebrated case. On mounting the Rostra, he found himself in presence of a vast multitude packed as closely as it was possible for them to be packed within the limited space of the Forum. The tribunal before which he had to plead was a novel one; the troops stationed at every coign of vantage, though present to preserve order, yet inspired him with fear. But there were also grounds for great confidence. The well-known moderation of Pompey, the wisdom of the measures which he had taken to ensure a fair trial, the impartiality of the judges, the virtue and noble firmness of the whole tribunal, all these tended to fill his breast with a courage which might otherwise have been damped, by the awe inspired by a special commission, by the presence of armed men, and of a vast throng which was not over favourably disposed to his client. He then adroitly points out how his own interests are one with those of the judges, and theirs, again, with those of his client, whose whole life, though devoted to the service of the upright against the unrighteous, is nevertheless now imperilled by the machinations of the unruly scum of the populace.

## THE REFUTATION.

These opening words, so easy and natural, couched in a style so faultlessly correct, so calm, so modest, could not fail to make a very favourable impression upon his audience. But favourable as that impression might be, he cannot advance one step farther till he has removed from their minds certain prejudices which he is aware exist against his client, and which will block up all access to their better judgment.

He therefore at once lays hold of these, and at his touch they vanish, as if struck by the wand of a magician. He expresses his astonishment at the first of them—that any one who has shed the blood of another must himself undergo the penalty of death! At once there crowd before his mind innumerable examples which prove the falsehood of such a statement. He cites laws which, in certain cases, sanction the taking away of another's life. He arrays before them facts which exemplify the laws. He brings forward nature herself implanting in the bosom of each of us a primeval law, a natural instinct to repel from us the violent attacks of those who assault us, and, if need be, to repel them by inflicting upon our aggressor the penalty of death.

As for the prejudice which has arisen in consequence of the Senate's decision that this special case should be inquired into, that fact is easily accounted for by their will that every act of violence should be submitted to judgment, because in a commonwealth all such acts are in some way detrimental to its well-being. Therefore, by decreeing that this inquiry should be made, it simply wished to vindicate the majesty of the law, and, if possible, to clear a brave citizen from guilt and from the odium which might attach to an otherwise justifiable act.

With respect to the prejudice arising from Pompey's appointment of a special commission to try the case, his aim also was to ascertain whether Milo was able to show reasons which would cleanse his act from all the foul motives attributed to it by his enemies. Could there possibly be any other intention in one so virtuous as all admitted Pompey to be? Was it possible that he should have made so startling an exception in favour of a man like Clodius?

Having brought the refutation to this point, he adroitly recalls the furious violence of the audacious wretch; the dagger with which he threatened the life of Pompey; and

then instituting a comparison between that mad tribune and the most illustrious men of Rome, draws an ironical picture of all the good, the brave, the upright, the patriotic, bewailing the fate of this gentle, this loving, this excellent citizen. When he had thus put the most favourable interpretation upon the action of Pompey and of the Senate, enfeebled the influence which that action might have upon the minds of the judges, and encouraged these latter to give a free and independent opinion of the case on its own merits, he reduces the whole matter coming before them for judgment, to one question : "Which of these two men was it that, in the *rencontre* on the Appian Way, was the aggressor?" The answer to that question must decide the point at issue.

#### THE NARRATION.

In order to return that answer, the orator is now led to give a bare statement of the facts of the case. This he does in the most admirable manner possible ; for his narration of these facts is all that the most exacting critic could desire it to be ; it is brief, excluding all unnecessary details ; it is clear, observing the order and the time of the events recounted ; it has an air of likelihood, for in it there is nothing that is in any way out of harmony with the characters of the chief actors ; it is interesting, inasmuch as it rivets the attention ; and convincing, for it clearly establishes the fact which the advocate aims at establishing. Milo, by his position as chief magistrate of Lanuvium, was obliged to leave Rome on the day of the murder ; Clodius had no duty to call him away, but many reasons for remaining at Rome. Milo made no secret of his journey ; Clodius carefully concealed the time of his return. Milo was travelling, as a man who suspected no evil, would travel ; Clodius was on horseback, like a man who meditated an assault. The attack was made. Milo defended himself ; and then, without his



knowledge, without his order, his slaves, who thought that he had been slain by Clodius, did that which every man would wish his servants to do in similar circumstances. They avenged the supposed death of their master, and struck down his would-be assassin in the very moment when he expected to triumph in that master's death.

### THE CONFIRMATION.

#### *First Part.*

The Confirmation, as we know, is that part of the discourse in which the speaker establishes by proof that which he has asserted in the Narration, or in the thesis which he has taken to form the basis of his speech. Therefore, after stating all the facts necessary for his case, and reducing the whole process to one question—namely, which of the two men, who were the chief actors in the affray, was the aggressor—he opens his argument by laying down as a general principle the natural law which establishes the right to repel an unjust aggressor. Whichever of the two shall be proved to have lain in wait for the other, on him let the sword of justice fall. If Clodius laid this ambushade for Milo, then he has met his fate, and Milo must be absolved from all blame; if Milo designed to kill Clodius, then on him let suitable punishment be inflicted.

But, looking dispassionately at all the circumstances of the case, which of the two men was more likely to play the part of the assassin? It was the interest of Clodius that Milo should be swept from his path, which he had so often crossed in the interests of the Republic. Clodius was a man of unbridled passions, of most violent character, of dissolute habits. His only fear was that Milo would become Consul, and put an effectual stop to all his misdemeanours. His only hope of success in his brigandages, was anchored in

the trust that Milo would speedily be destroyed. Milo, however, whose whole life had been devoted to the welfare of the State and to the defence of the upright against the attacks of the lawless and the malevolent, was led to seek for office through a patriotic spirit, through a noble desire to further the interests of the Republic. He had, so to speak, made it the aim of his life to oppose and thwart the furious projects of this untamed, and apparently untamable citizen.

After this contrast, the orator unfolds before the minds of the judges, a horrible picture of the recently deceased demagogue. One by one he holds up for their execration his impious projects, the mad crimes of which he had been guilty, and paints him as a monster who would not for a single instant have hesitated to commit a nefarious deed, if it would in any way further his interests. These details would naturally turn the scale against Clodius; and while the balance inclined towards Milo, he told them, for the first time, of the words which had fallen from the lips of Clodius, "that in three days Milo would cease to live". Then came all the facts of the occurrence on the Appian Way: Clodius knew of Milo's journey; he set out when it was prejudicial for him to leave one of his tumultuous assemblies; he made a secret of the time of his return; he took up an advantageous position in front of his own farm; he was prepared for conflict. But fate was against him. He met a brave and determined man, and consequently went down before him. Milo, calm and intrepid, came back to Rome, and, conscious of his integrity and of the justice of his cause, defied his enemies. He represents him as the victim of calumny, and excites the compassion of his hearers for one who has been made the target for the most odious and unfounded accusations. With the utmost delicacy, and in a tone of sorrow rather than of anger, he complains that Pompey had

lent his ear to these monstrous assertions; he argues him out of any fear which he might entertain with respect to Milo; he reminds him of their former friendship, of the many services which he had received from Milo, and hints that the day may come when he will need the aid of so strenuous, so fearless, so courageous a supporter. Then, speaking to the judges, he tells them not for a moment to imagine that the Consul's presence at the trial is for the purpose of overawing them into a condemnation of his client. It is simply and solely to show his earnest wish that justice should be done.

Having thus reassured them, disabused them of their prejudices, made them hostile to Clodius, and favourably inclined towards Milo, he has put them in the best dispositions for acquitting the accused. His aim now will be to wring that sentence from them.

### *Second Part.*

Though partly convinced, and deeply moved by all that the orator had hitherto said, the judges were not yet disposed to give their verdict in favour of Milo. The atrocious deeds of Clodius, had, so to speak, to be brought home to them. Therefore, warming with his subject, he declares that even if Milo had not slain Clodius—as he certainly had not—yet he might securely and with a glorious falsehood have openly boasted of the deed. For, what manner of man had he stricken down in the midst of his mad career against the State? Not a Spurius Melius; not a Tiberius Gracchus; but an infamous wretch, stained with unnatural crimes, who drove out of Rome, Rome's preserver and saviour; who compelled her noblest citizen to shelter himself within the walls of his own house; who fired the temple of the Nymphs to destroy the record of his own infamy; who scorned the law, and the rights of other men; who, accompanied by a

band of ruffians, dispossessed men of their estates; who threatened with death a poor man unless he would yield up to him his little garden; who attempted to run a wall through a courtyard belonging to his own sister, and to carry it up in such a way as to deprive her not only of her courtyard, but of all access and of all light to her house.

Having thus set his misdeeds before their very eyes, he introduces Milo holding up the blood-stained dagger, and saying: "Draw nigh, ye Romans, and lend me your ears! I have slain Clodius! This dagger and this right hand have warded off from your heads his furious projects which neither law nor justice could control. It is owing to me, and to me only, that justice, law, liberty, innocence, and morality are respected within these walls."

Then turning from him to the bright prospect which his noble deed had opened out before his country—the restoration of law and of justice, the safety of Rome, prosperity, peace, domestic happiness, and public tranquillity—he makes to them a very bold proposition: he asks them to imagine that Milo is to be acquitted, on condition that Clodius is restored to life. They turn pale and shudder. Pompey himself would refuse this condition; because, in his heart, love of country stands before affection for friends; and much as he might love Clodius, he loved Rome still more.

Finally, addressing the judges, he asks them whether they are to avenge the death of one whom, even if they had the power, they would not have the will to call back from the dead. Therefore, Milo is deserving of honour, if by his hand, and by his courage, the State has been freed from the presence of one whom neither the Senate nor the Consul would wish any longer to breathe the breath of life.

### *Third Part.*

The last means which Cicero employs for the defence of

his client, is one which he himself put forward. It had not been suggested to him by any of Milo's friends. It is the fruit of his own meditations. For, if he looked up into the vast expanse of the star-lit heavens, or cast his eyes down upon the broad bosom of mother earth, or with them searched the annals of history, he everywhere perceived the hand of Providence guiding human affairs, as well as the material world in which men enact the drama of life. The power of the gods everywhere and in all things ruled this vast universe, guiding, preserving, directing and watching over its well-being.

To this power he attributed the death of Clodius. For he had most grievously offended the gods. He had ravaged their sacred Alban hills. He had profaned their lakes and woods in Latium. He had violated the secret rites of the Bona Dea. He had sinned against them in the city, by the commission of many crimes. At last, wearied out by his repeated and shameless transgressions, they had stretched forth their avenging hand and struck him down. It was before a shrine of the Bona Dea that he received his death-blow. Then his polluted body was carried, all bespattered with mud and gore, to the very scene of his impieties. There, it was deprived of funeral rites, and burnt amid the wild cries of an infuriated rabble.

Yet even in death he was impious to the gods who had thus hurled him down headlong. His funeral pyre destroyed their temple, so that even his inanimate clay was, to the end, implacably hostile to them. They therefore employed the hand of Milo to arrest him in his mad career and avenge their insulted majesty. Human powers had been unable to curb him, and therefore they had interposed, and freed men from his tyranny. The man thus employed by the guiding hand of Providence to free Rome stood before them, not to be condemned for the deed which the gods had inspired him

to execute, but to be absolved from all guilt, and rewarded for his bravery and his patriotism.

#### THE PERORATION.

The eventful moment, in which to strike the most important blow that will break down the opposition to his client, has now arrived. The orator must deliver it with all the force, with all the energy, and with all the skill at his command. Into it he must throw the full weight of the argumentation that has gone before. Milo will not aid him in any way to touch the hearts of those who are to pronounce sentence upon him. He stands there before them, calm, immovable, almost defiant in his bearing. He has not had recourse to the usual expedients of men in his situation; he has disdained to put on mourning, to stand as a suppliant begging the compassion and the mercy of those on whom he now depends for all that makes life dear, for friends, for wealth, and for fatherland. But though he will not plead for himself, Cicero will plead and entreat for him.

After exhausting every means in the store-house of his eloquence, and marshalling them in battle array against the intellect of his judges, he is now about to assail the citadel of their hearts. In the most pathetic accents of a voice which was able to sound every note of passion, and to make the breasts of others vibrate with the emotions which were stirring within his own, he implores their mercy. He puts himself in the place of Milo, who has loved his country and laboured for the Republic; who has been the Senate's friend and the people's darling; never seeking for any other reward than that which virtue gives. In his own name he asks for mercy, because the peril in which Milo now stands has bowed him beneath a weight of sorrow which nothing but his deliverance can lift from his heart. Heretofore he has exposed his person, his life, his goods, his fortune in defence

of his friend—he will now readily expose for him his very life.

Then joining with himself all the friends of the accused, he pleads in their names also to the judges for that mercy which he cannot induce Milo to ask for himself. Nay, he goes so far as to ask it in the person of Clodius, whom he would prefer to see alive once more, adorned with even the highest offices, Prætor, Consul, Dictator, rather than that his own dearest friend and greatest benefactor should be made to suffer for his heroic action. Finally, he appeals to the judges themselves, and implores them by the high office which they exercise, not to condemn this upright, innocent man, for that it is their duty to defend those who love the fatherland, and to give their sentence confidently, fearlessly, and justly.

#### CICERO'S SPEECH FOR MILO.

##### *Synopsis.*

##### EXORDIUM.

In his exordium, he makes the judges benevolent, attentive, and docile.

##### REFUTATION.

He meets and refutes three prejudices, which filled the minds of those before whom he was about to plead:

- (1) It is never lawful to kill a man.
- (2) Milo has been condemned by the Senate.
- (3) He has been condemned by Pompey.

##### NARRATION.

The ambushade was laid for Milo by Clodius; Milo laid not any ambushade for Clodius.

##### CONFIRMATION. *First Part.*

From antecedent circumstances, he shows that Clodius had all that was requisite to lay this ambushade for

Milo; first, he had the *will* to do it; and, secondly, he had the *power*.

From concomitant circumstances, he proves that Milo chose nothing that was suitable to lay an ambuscade; not the time, nor the place, nor the retinue which was with him.

From consequent circumstances, he makes conjectures which are favourable to Milo; these circumstances are, the evident calmness of his conscience; the sentence passed by the Senate on the occurrence; the calumnies uttered by his enemies—calumnies which carried their own condemnation upon their face.

He complains of Pompey, because of his vain suspicions, and his excessive credulity.

He encourages the judges, and tells them that Pompey is not opposed to Milo, but that by his presence at the trial, with his military guard, is a protection to him.

#### CONFIRMATION. *Second Part.*

By reason of his crimes, he proves that Clodius might with justice have been put to death: by the example of the Romans, by the example of the Greeks, by the providence of God, by the danger to the Republic.

#### PERORATION.

He implores the mercy of the judges; he exhorts the judges to be brave in giving their judgment.

#### *Analysis of the Exordium.*

#### HE DECLARES HIS FEAR.

On account of the novel form of the trial. On account of the comparative fewness of the people present. On account of the multitude of soldiers under arms at the trial.



**HE SPEAKS OF POMPEY'S VIRTUES.**

He is a man who is at once most wise and most just.

**HE SPEAKS OF HIS HOPE OF HELP,**

from the very soldiers themselves, and from all the people.

**HE SPEAKS OF THE CRIMES OF HIS ADVERSARIES,**

nourished and fed by the rapines of Clodius, and by the seditious cries of those who at the trial are raising an unwonted disturbance.

**HE POINTS OUT THE DUTIES OF THE JUDGES:**

to lay aside all fear, and to favour Milo.

**HE PAINTS BEFORE THEIR EYES THE WRETCHED CONDITION OF MILO,**

who is now without hope of reward; agitated by the fear of exile; and imperilled by the judgment which may be passed upon him.

**HE PUTS BEFORE THEM A STATEMENT OF THE QUESTION FOR THEIR CONSIDERATION.**

The ambushade was laid for Milo by Clodius. This fact he promises to make more clear for them than the very light of day.

*Refutation.***I. PREJUDICE.**

It is unlawful for any man to live, who has deprived another of the breath of life.

(1) This he disproves, by the example of the Roman people; of Scipio Africanus; of Ahala Servilius; of Publius Nascica; of Opimius; of Marius; of the Senate; and of the gods themselves.

(2) By the law of the Twelve Tables, a law which allows the killing of a robber during the night-time, and sometimes of one who attempts to

rob during the day. By the custom of carrying arms, and of having body-guards. By the law of nature. By written law.

## II. PREJUDICE.

Milo has been condemned by the Senate.

He refutes this prejudice by a contrary assertion.

By the testimony of an adversary. By the hatred which the Senate had for Clodius. By explaining the decree made in the Senate.

## III. PREJUDICE.

Milo has been condemned by Pompey.

He refutes this prejudice, by recalling to their minds the permission granted to Milo by Pompey, to defend himself before the Commission. He refutes it, by pointing out that the times required a new examination into the matter, an examination out of the ordinary course of things; for there was no new inquiry made concerning the murder of Drusus, or of Scipio, or of Papirius; but of the crime of Clodius, who threatened to murder both Pompey and Cicero. By the desire which Pompey had, to be constant in his but recently-made reconciliation with Milo. By his choice of the judges whom he selected to try the case—men most illustrious in the State, and of a Quæstor of unimpeachable bravery and fortitude.

### *The Narration.*

He proves that the ambuscade was laid by Clodius, and not by Milo.

## CIRCUMSTANCES PRECEDING THE DEPARTURE OF EACH.

On the part of Clodius, there was a desire of harassing the Republic. A fear lest Milo, as Consul, should stand in his way as Prætor. There were threats of

putting Milo to death. There was a gathering together of barbarous slaves. An appointment of the day on which Milo was to die. A knowledge of the journey which Milo was of necessity to undertake. A departure from Rome on the side of Clodius, a departure which caused him to quit very abruptly a tumultuous assembly convened by him.

On the part of Milo, there was, first of all, his presence in the Senate until it was dismissed. His delay at home, while preparations were making for his going forth. His waiting for his wife to complete her arrangements.

#### CONCOMITANT CIRCUMSTANCES.

On the part of Clodius: He was on horseback. Unhampered by a carriage. Without any baggage. Without his Grecian attendants. Without his wife.

On the part of Milo: He was with his wife. He was in his carriage. He was wrapped up in his cloak. He had with him a numerous and embarrassing body of servants, consisting of females and of boys.

#### SUBSEQUENT CIRCUMSTANCES.

The meeting with Clodius. Missiles first cast by the party with Clodius. Milo's coachman slain. The affray began without any order from Milo; without his knowledge; without his presence. The murder of Clodius was committed by Milo's slaves.

#### *Establishment of the Case.*

- (1) CLODIUS WAS JUSTLY SLAIN BY MILO,  
both to benefit the Republic, and to preserve his own life, the defence of which is lawful, as we are taught by reason, by necessity, by the custom of nations, and by Nature herself.

- (2) THE QUESTION FOR DISCUSSION,  
is not whether Clodius was slain by Milo.
- (3) BUT ONLY WHICH OF THE TWO  
laid the ambuscade for the other, that condemnation  
may fall upon him, and not on the man who acted  
merely in self-defence.

*The Confirmation. First Part.*

He conjectures which of the two men laid the ambuscade for the other.

I. FROM THE WILL TO KILL:

- (1) *On account of the advantage* that would thence arise. The will to kill was in the heart of Clodius, because if Milo were removed, he would have a free hand to do what he pleased, during his own Prætorship, and to pass whatever laws it might seem good for him to make.

No such will was in the heart of Milo, who, as long as Clodius was alive, had every chance of becoming Consul; but in his death, beheld the death also of his long-cherished hope.

- (2) *On account of the hatred* which Clodius entertained for Milo, the defender of Cicero; the only man who had checked him in his mad projects; the only one who had dared to face his armed force, and had beaten it down.

Milo was free from all hatred of Clodius; for Clodius furnished him with the seed of glory, and the material out of which to build up his fame.

- (3) *On account of the nature* of each of the men. Clodius was violent; by force of arms he drove Cicero from Rome; he almost slew Hortensius; he so wounded Vibianus that he lost his life; he attempted the life of Pompey; on the Appian Way,

he murdered Papirius; he oftentimes tried to put Cicero to death.

Milo's nature, on the contrary, is moderate; for though he often had the opportunity of slaying Clodius, he never took advantage of it; and yet, had he availed himself of these opportunities, he might have done so with impunity, and have covered himself with glory.

- (4) *On account of the election time*, in which Milo feared to offend the people, Clodius sought for power, in order to act in a manner free and untrammelled.
- (5) *On account of the hope* of impunity, at which Clodius aimed, but Milo did not.
- (6) *On account of the words* of Clodius, who said that in three days Milo would die, and after the third day laid the ambuscade in order to accomplish his prophecy.

## II. FROM THE POWER TO KILL.

- (1) *On account of the knowledge* which he had of Milo's necessary and fixed journey; and of his own inopportune and indeterminate one.
- (2) *On account of the journey* undertaken by Clodius, not because news was brought to him of the death of Cyrus, his architect, but because he received intelligence of the approach of Milo.
- (3) *On account of the place* of the ambuscade. This was not near Rome, at a spot in which Milo might have lain concealed; but between Aricia and the villa of Clodius.
- (4) *From the place of the rencontre*; this was advantageous for Clodius, but not for Milo.
- (5) *From the circumstances* in which Milo found himself: hampered by his cloak, and burdened with his wife.

- (6) *From the circumstances* in which Clodius found himself: without his wife, without his carriage, without his Grecian attendants, without his musicians. He was on horseback, attended by his chosen band of soldiers or gladiators.

*Subsequent Refutation.*

- (1) *Why then was he vanquished?* Because Milo was valiant and prudent. Because Fortune is fickle and inconstant. Because of the stupidity of a man like Clodius, over-fed, gluttonous, and careless.
- (2) *Why were the slaves of Milo set at liberty?* Not through any fear that, while under torture, they might betray their master; but that, being free men, they might receive their just reward.
- (3) *Examination of Clodius' slaves*, who were brought into Court contrary to the ordinance of the law, and examined by the accuser, in favour of their own master. Their evidence was worthless, as they were terrified by threats of torture.

*Return to the Confirmation.*

HE CONJECTURES WHICH OF THE TWO  
laid the ambuscade for the other.

FROM THE EASY CONSCIENCE OF MILO,

who returned to Rome with all speed, with great courage, with a look that betokened security, with a voice in which there was no tremor of fear. He gave himself up to the Senate, to Pompey, to the people, to the soldiers.

FROM THE JUDGMENT OF THE SENATE,

who approved of Milo's cause, saw a reason for his action, and for his fortitude.

FROM THE CALUMNIES OF HIS ENEMIES,

who gave out that Milo would not return to Rome, but would wage war upon his country.

HE WEIGHS THE ACTS OF POMPEY.

He praises him for his great diligence. He wonders at the facility with which he gave ear to the words of one of the lowest order of priests, and to men who were drunk. He shows that he is too ready to believe. He blames him for being over suspicious. He calls to his mind his former friendship for Milo, by whom he was helped, and to whom he himself had given aid. He points out to him the need which, in future years, he may have of Milo, because of the changeable ways of life, the inconsistency of fortune, the faithlessness of friends, the pretences of many, the abandonment of intimate acquaintances, in times of adversity.

HE REASSURES THE JUDGES,

because Pompey is most skilled in public law, in the customs of their ancestors, and in those of the Republic. Also, he is most just, for he will offer no violence. He has made a law, in order that the inquiry into the present case might be a legitimate one. He has furnished protecting guards, that the judgment may be a free one.

*The Confirmation. Second Part.*

He proves that Clodius might justly be slain.

FROM THE EXAMPLE OF THE ROMANS,

who put to death Spurius Melius, and Gracchus. Therefore, Milo could justly slay Clodius, a far worse man than either of these ; worse towards the gods, especially the Bona Dea, and the Nymphs ; worse towards the Roman citizens, whom he

either put to death or despoiled ; worse towards the whole Republic, the families of which he was about to trouble ; to overturn its rights and its laws ; and, in every possible way, to hinder its happiness.

FROM THE EXAMPLE OF THE GREEKS,

who both honour and praise the slayers of the impious ; therefore, Milo should be honoured and praised for the death of Clodius, who was an impious man.

FROM THE PROVIDENCE OF THE GODS,

who govern the Roman Empire and the world ; who impelled Clodius to attack Milo ; who gave Milo the victory ; who deprived Clodius of all funeral rites.

FROM THE PERIL INCURRED BY THE REPUBLIC,

which he harassed by defiling religious rites ; by restricting the decrees of the Senate ; by corrupting the judges ; by causing pain to Roman citizens—Cicero, Pompey, and others ; by molesting strangers ; and he would afterwards have molested both them and us, when there would be no one to withstand him, when his slaves should have been liberated by him, and when he should have obtained the offices of Prætor and of Consul.

*Peroration.*

IN THE PERSON OF MILO, HE IMploRES THE MERCY OF THE JUDGES.

A most brave man ; most devoted to his country ; most continually engaged in labours for its welfare ; most renowned for his liberality ; particularly beloved by the Senate and by the people ; satisfied



with his own valour, and with the glory which it has procured for him.

IN HIS OWN PERSON.

Afflicted with the deepest sorrow ; without any consolation ; oftentimes exposing for Milo's sake, his body, his life, his goods, his fortune ; not refusing to undergo for his sake even death itself.

IN THE PERSON OF HIS OWN FAMILIAR FRIENDS :

Men of the utmost bravery ; who ought, therefore, to defend a brave man ; he asks it also in the name of his children, and of his brother Quintus.

IN THE PERSON OF CLODIUS HIMSELF.

If Milo could be saved, he would wish that even Clodius should return to life, and shine in the dignified posts of Prætor, Consul, Dictator.

IN THE PERSON OF THE JUDGES,

whose office it is to defend those who love their country ; and to give their sentence with fortitude, with justice, with equity.

## PART III.

### LIVES OF ÆSCHINES AND DEMOSTHENES.

#### CHAPTER I.

##### LIFE OF ÆSCHINES.

ÆSCHINES, the great opponent of Demosthenes, was born at Athens in the year B.C. 389 or 388. His father was a certain Atrometus of the Cothocidian township, and, if we are to believe the son, was the descendant of one of the noblest families of Athens. His mother was named Glaucothea, for whom, no doubt, he was able to discover an equally noble lineage. His great rival, however, tells quite a different story of his family connections, and sneers at him for his lowly birth, and for the lowly occupations in which he had passed his youth. According to him, Atrometus had no pretensions whatever to noble birth, but was only a slave, filling the humble office of schoolmaster; while his mother was one of the inferior order of priestesses, and gained a precarious livelihood by initiating the lower classes into the mysteries of Bacchus. He mercilessly twits him for his childish vanity, in affecting to belong to the upper ranks of society, and for having added two syllables to the names of his father and his mother—the real name of the one being Tromes, and not Atrometus, and of the other, Glaucis, and not Glaucothea.

During his youth, Æschines assisted his father in the

school, and is represented by Demosthenes as employed in cleaning out the class-room, scrubbing the benches, preparing the ink, and fulfilling the task of a general servant. Also, he tells how he helped his mother while she performed the rites of initiation, rubbing the initiated with bran, teaching them to say : " I have escaped evil ; I have found good," and conducting them in procession through the streets.

When he had attained the age requisite for enrolment among the number of the citizens, he left his father's school, and his mother's initiatory rites, to become a clerk in the pay of one of the inferior magistrates. Here he acquired that knowledge of law, and that intimate acquaintance with decrees and legal documents, a knowledge of which he gives us so many proofs in his famous speech against Ctesiphon. From the clerk's desk, which seems to have been not altogether to his taste, he took to the stage, for which, no doubt, he thought that his handsome person, his melodious voice, and his graceful gesture, admirably suited him. But on the stage, through some fatality or other, he was destined never to succeed. In playing the part of Ænomaus, he is said to have failed so miserably, that he was pelted off the boards, and thereupon, in great disgust, gave up that by no means lucrative calling.

From the theatre—apparently without any other training than that which he had picked up in the magistrate's office—he passed into political life. But some authors maintain that this is not true, and assert that he prepared himself for the troubled waters, into which he was about to plunge, by taking lessons in argumentation from the sophist Alcidas.

At the time when Æschines appeared upon this new scene and in this new character, Athens was at war with Philip of Macedon, about Olynthus. The inhabitants of that city saw quite clearly, in the year B.C. 352, that they must of necessity be swallowed by the encroaching tide of Philip's invasion,

unless they were promptly and substantially aided by some powerful State. In their distress they called upon Athens to come to their assistance, though they had previously been upon anything but friendly terms with her. Accordingly peace was made between the two States, B.C. 352. This so angered Philip, that he at once made against Olynthus a demonstration, which had the effect of preventing any profitable result from the alliance between herself and Athens. Satisfied with this, Philip withdrew, quite content to bide his time, knowing full well that it would mature the fruit which at present was not ripe enough to fall into his hands. Three years passed by, during which events had hurried matters forward with wonderful rapidity. The right moment had come to strike the blow and shake the fruit into his lap. Therefore, in the year B.C. 348, he marched into the Chalcidice. One by one the cities fell before him. Athens could give but very inefficient help, and Olynthus also fell, was rased to the ground, and her ten thousand inhabitants were sold into slavery.

It was therefore a time of excitement and of grave national trouble, when Æschines began his career as a politician. As was natural, in such circumstances, his whole soul was fired with enthusiasm for the well-being of the Republic, and so zealous an advocate did he show himself for her interests, that when Philip manifested a desire to make peace with Athens, Æschines was chosen to be one of the ambassadors sent to treat with him.

During this Embassy, he did all that a man filled with patriotic sentiments could do, to further her interests. Philip, with that gracious affability which he so well knew how to assume, received the members who composed it, and showed himself so desirous of putting an end to hostilities, that after hearing the proposals of the Athenian deputies, he sent back with them his own ambassadors to Athens, there to draw up

the terms of the treaty which was to be the foundation of a firm and lasting peace. The negotiations were carried on at Athens, and the terms duly agreed to by the ambassadors. But among these terms, Æschines was weak enough to allow the insertion of some which were disadvantageous to Athens. The gold, or the cajolery of Philip, or perhaps both, were slowly, but surely, doing their work.

The next step in this proceeding, was to obtain from the Macedonian king, a ratification of the treaty just concluded by the ambassadors. To put off this ratification as long as possible, was a matter of great moment to Philip; for, in the meantime, he ceased not to prosecute, in Thrace, the war against Cersobleptes who was an ally of Athens. Seeing the position of affairs, the Athenians naturally wished that the treaty should be concluded in the shortest possible space of time, that their friend and ally might be saved. It was, therefore, the duty of these ambassadors to hurry off to Philip, and at once secure his signature to the Articles agreed upon. Instead of doing this, they went to Pella, Philip's birthplace, and there awaited the arrival of the monarch. For three whole months they remained in expectation of his coming, while, one after another, the cities of their ally fell before the victorious arms of this wily politician. Then only did they set out to meet him, when he was marching against the Phocians, after having accomplished all that he wished to accomplish in Thrace.

When Æschines and his fellow-ambassadors at last succeeded in reaching him, and submitted to him the treaty agreed upon, Philip would no longer listen to their proposals, such as they stood in the Articles drawn up at Athens. He would not append his signature to them, unless both the "Aliens" of Thessaly and the unfortunate Phocians, were formally excluded from all the benefits which those Articles might confer. Æschines weakly yielded to

this unjust proceeding, and, on his return to Athens, persuaded the Athenians to acquiesce in the arrangement, assuring them that, though the Phocians were excluded from the treaty, he had Philip's word of honour that they should not be molested, and that the troops, which were marching in their direction, were not destined to be employed in their subjugation, but, under cover of that pretence, were to fall suddenly upon the Thebans, and bring about their downfall.

If Philip ever gave to Æschines any such promise, the sequel proved how little his word could be depended upon; for he completely subjugated the Phocians, while the Athenians, bound by the terms of the treaty, could not move either hand or foot in their defence.

This turn of affairs naturally would bring the subject of the Embassy into great prominence among the people, and, therefore, it is not surprising that Æschines should wish to give such an account of it, as would clear him from any blame in their eyes. As a consequence of this desire, we have his speech on the Embassy, a speech which may be described as a personal reminiscence rather than a statesman's historical account of an important transaction. The delivery of this speech gave Demosthenes and Timarchus, the occasion for which they had been longing, an occasion for attacking him for his conduct during that Embassy, from which results so detrimental to Athens had unfortunately sprung. To prevent adversaries so formidable from falling thus suddenly, and with such telling effect upon him, Æschines knew that it was all-important for him to gain time. He, therefore, dealt a blow at the more vulnerable of his antagonists, by accusing Timarchus of secretly exporting arms to Philip, and of gross immorality.

An accusation of this kind, according to the law at Athens, most effectually prevented Timarchus from pressing his suit. To him, this thrust of Æschines' was a deadly

one. Covered with shame, and seeing no prospect of ever clearing himself from these charges, which were, unfortunately, but too true, he committed suicide, and thus freed Æschines from a dangerous foe. In consequence of his death, the impeachment against the orator was not brought forward till fully three years after the events which had given rise to it. They were then without interest to the people, whose sense of the injury done them was dulled, and, therefore, it was not a difficult matter altogether to prevent the case from ever coming into Court. It needed but the intervention of an influential man to accomplish this piece of chicanery, and that intervention Æschines lost no time in securing at the hands of Eubulus, whose clerk he had been, and who readily consented to do him this service.

Although he thus escaped the evils which might have fallen upon him, had the case been gone into, yet he did not come forth altogether unstained by these aspersions upon his loyalty to Athens, flung at him by the war-party, of which Demosthenes was the head. An unmistakable proof of this, is given by an incident which happened a few years after this event. It seems that there was living at this time in Athens a man named Antiphon, who, for assuming the title "citizen," without having any claim to do so, and for exercising the rights which that title secured to him, was ignominiously expelled from the city. Full of anger, and breathing forth threats of dire revenge, he went to the Court of Philip, deeming that hostility to Athens would recommend him to a monarch who cordially hated the Athenian people. He was well received by the Macedonian king, and partly to ingratiate himself still more with him, and partly to wreak vengeance upon those who had, in his estimation, done him an unpardonable wrong, he undertook to return to Athens, and set fire to her fleet.

Rumours of his determination were not slow in reaching the city, where his arrival was soon noised abroad, and the vigilance of the patriotic aroused to the highest pitch. As was natural, Antiphon took every precaution requisite to conceal himself, and lay hid in the Piræus. Demosthenes soon discovered his whereabouts, had him arrested, and brought for judgment before the popular Assembly. At the inquiry, Æschines stood up, defended Antiphon, and pronounced the conduct of Demosthenes disgraceful, in thus violating the sanctity of a private house. His pleading caused Antiphon to be set at liberty. The Council of the Areopagus, on hearing this, had him arrested again, and put him to the torture, under which he died.

As if this did not sufficiently manifest their displeasure at the conduct of Æschines, they shortly afterwards gave another proof of their distrust and dislike of him, for the part which he had played with Philip. It seems that when the people were consulted as to the advocate who should be chosen to plead the cause of Athens about the Temple of Delphi, Æschines was elected by their suffrages to fill that honourable and delicate office. But as soon as the result of the election was made known to the Areopagus, they at once annulled the appointment, and gave the case to the orator Hyperides.

Unmistakable as were these signs of disapprobation and of distrust, they did not, in the year B.C. 340, and under the archonship of Theophrastus, hinder Æschines from being named deputy of Athens to the Amphictyonic Council at Delphi. On this occasion Æschines so cleverly played into the hands of Philip, that he procured for him facilities for seizing upon Elatea, a Phocian city, which was so important, by reason of its position, as to be regarded as a gate into Attica. The news of this catastrophe was brought to Athens, in the evening, and filled the people with the utmost conster-



nation. An assembly was convened upon the following morning, and Demosthenes, at the call of the herald, stood up and once more gave his advice for prompt and effective measures to meet and avert the impending calamity. The danger was so great, that he saw no other prospect of warding it off than by a coalition between Thebes and Athens. He was accordingly sent to Thebes, and succeeded in bringing about an alliance between the cities which so long had been at variance. Side by side, faithfully and loyally did they stand, contesting against their wily and powerful foe every step which he took, till at last the liberties of Greece were trampled under his feet on the blood-stained field of Cheronea (B.C. 338).

Now that the Macedonian party had triumphed, and the true patriots were everywhere in disgrace, Æschines thought that the time had come for tearing the laurels off the brow of his persistent and unwearied opponent Demosthenes, who had been foremost in thwarting every move of Philip towards the attainment of his present eminence. Knowing, however, the high place which the fallen statesman held in the popular esteem, he did not dare directly to attack him, but under cover of a patriotic zeal for the maintenance of law, prepared to launch against him a shaft, which he thought would prove a death-blow to his reputation. A certain Ctesiphon, it seems, had some time previously proposed a decree "that Demosthenes should be crowned with a golden crown in the theatre, during the celebration of the great national festival," alleging as a reason "that he had always both counselled and done that which was best for Athens".

Against this man and against his decree, Æschines now brought forward his indictment, hoping that if he could procure the condemnation of Ctesiphon, that condemnation would indirectly affect Demosthenes, and be a kind of repro-

bation of the policy which he had so persistently pursued against the Macedonian king. Unfortunately for Æschines, Philip died before the case had yet come into Court. The prosecution was therefore suspended for the next eight years. Not till B.C. 330 was the matter brought to trial.

Once, again, it was the battle of Athens against Macedon ; but a battle fought, not on the open plain, but in the law courts. The question which now came up for judgment was, in reality : " Which of the two policies was to be pronounced the national policy—that which had enabled Philip, and after Philip, Alexander to be the head of Greece, or that which had ever essayed to maintain Athens in the glory of her proud pre-eminence ? " Each orator strove to the utmost of his ability, both by arguments and by the eloquent periods in which those arguments were couched, to win the judges over to his view. But when, at the conclusion of Demosthenes' speech, the votes were taken, Æschines was found not to have received the fifth part of them, and was, therefore, proclaimed to have lost his cause. In accordance with the Attic law in such cases, he was condemned to a fine of ten thousand drachmas, and not having that sum at his command, was forced to go into exile. Naturally enough, in the ruin of his prospects, he made for the Court of Alexander, in whose service he had staked his all, hoping to find in his patronage, that position and that easy fortune which he had lost for ever at Athens. He, therefore, went to Ephesus, in order to await Alexander's return from the expedition in which he was, at that time, engaged. His hopes in this quarter were, however, destined, never to be realised ; for Alexander had come to the end of his short and brilliant career, and died at Babylon.

Seeing that he must now rely upon himself, Æschines went to Rhodes, and there supported himself by teaching

eloquence. The school which he there founded was long afterwards famous for the golden mean which it held between Asiatic luxuriance of expression and of ornament, and the simplicity and purity of Attic good taste. It is said that on one occasion he read to his pupils his own famous speech against Ctesiphon, and that they expressed their admiration at that most brilliant effort of forensic eloquence. Wondering in what way his adversary could have answered his seemingly unanswerable arguments, they begged of him to read for them the reply of Demosthenes. He complied with their request, and on its conclusion, seeing the enthusiasm which it had excited among them, he exclaimed: "What would have been your feelings, could you have heard him deliver it!"

Thus did the great orator pass the declining years of his life, imparting to others the principles of that eloquence of which he himself was so accomplished a model. He died at Samos at the age of seventy-five, B.C. 314-313. Of his numerous speeches, only three, which are named by an admiring posterity "The Three Graces," have survived till our times. These are his speech against Timarchus, his speech on the subject of the Embassy, and that against Ctesiphon, sometimes called the "Crown Oration".

## CHAPTER II.

### RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF ÆSCHINES' SPEECH AGAINST CTESIPHON.

#### EXORDIUM.

You can see, O Athenians! from the measures taken to set aside the laws, how truly formidable is the conspiracy to rob them of all vigour. Formidable as that conspiracy may be, it will not deter me from the execution of my duty. Glad, indeed, should I be if no such duty existed, and it certainly would have no existence in a well-ordered State; but since the only check upon the licence to which, in these latter times, politicians have abandoned themselves, is to impeach them for their unconstitutional proceedings, I will not shrink from employing that weapon against them. It is your duty, O Judges! to unmask these proceedings and to resist them, because in your hands, Athens has placed this great trust.

#### PROPOSITION.

I will, therefore, prove to you that the proposition of Ctesiphon "to crown Demosthenes, in the theatre, with a golden crown, because he has both said and done what is best for the State," is (1) illegal, (2) false, and (3) hurtful to the best interests of the State.

(1) *It is illegal, because he is accountable.*

After these preliminary remarks, I now proceed to explain to you the laws which have been transgressed by his pro-

(11)

position or decree. These laws were necessary, for if they had not been enacted, those who were accountable to the State could easily prevent an inquiry into their administration, by causing themselves to be crowned for the equitable fulfilment of their office, before any opportunity was afforded for testing the truth of their assertions. Hence the law which forbids any one to be crowned, before he has undergone this necessary scrutiny. Others have attempted to evade this law; but Ctesiphon openly sets it at defiance, though he also has ready an evasion, to the effect that Demosthenes did not hold an office, such as the law would require to be accounted for. The law, however, has anticipated this evasion; for after enumerating offices, such as that held by Demosthenes, it calls them all "*magistracies*," without making any distinction whatever. Therefore, let the law be your guide, and not the sophisms of Ctesiphon.

Demosthenes, of course, in certain cases admits his responsibility, and in others denies it; but the law accepts neither his limitations nor his denials. For all who serve the State, in any capacity whatever, are responsible to it—priests, who have not the handling of any public money, trierarchs, who in their office expend their own private fortunes, the members of the Areopagus, sacred as is their office, even senators, all come under the enactments of the law. These enactments impose upon them many other restrictions besides that of responsibility to the State, no matter whether they have been intrusted with public money or have not. Therefore, if Demosthenes says that the sums which he expended, during the term of his office, were drawn from his own private resources, the law requires him to prove the truth of his assertion, before the constituted authorities. Consequently, the accountability of Demosthenes does not admit of argument. His own decree for the appointment of commissioners to repair the walls, proves that he intended

them to be accountable magistrates. The law on this point is too general to be set aside by the quibble, that the mode of his appointment makes an exception in his case. For, if you put together the two laws: "Nominees of tribes shall enter upon office"—Demosthenes was nominated by a tribe; "An official may not be crowned before his accounts have been examined"—with what right can Ctesiphon propose that Demosthenes shall be crowned?

(2) *It is illegal, because the manner of his coronation is against the law.*

Ctesiphon proposes that Demosthenes should be crowned *in the theatre*. This is against the law; for honours conferred by Athens are sufficiently noised abroad by the fact of being conferred in presence of the Athenians only. Demosthenes, however, wishes to be honoured in the presence of visitors from every part of Greece. How will he defend this portion of Ctesiphon's decree? By a sophistical argument. He will not deny the existence of the law which forbids this coronation, but he will maintain that there is another which allows it. This, however, is impossible; for our Code especially guards us against any such anomaly. The law to which Demosthenes refers, deals with local, private crowns. The proclamation of even these is forbidden by the very law which Demosthenes quotes; and that law in no way affects the one quoted by me. For, by the one law, the place of proclamation is assigned to crowns conferred by the nation; and, by the other, to crowns bestowed by local bodies. The conditions on which these latter are proclaimed, are that there should be a popular vote to that effect, and that afterwards they should be consecrated, and hung up in the temple. To annex to our gifts any such conditions, would be a disgrace to our city. None such are attached to the crowns bestowed

by the nation at large. But, when foreign States bestow crowns upon any of our citizens, it is not difficult to see the reason why certain restrictions should be set upon their bounty.

From what I have said, you are now in a position to see through the frivolous pretexts alleged by the defendants. I may, therefore, proceed to the main point of my indictment.

- (3) *It is illegal, because the decree or proposition of Ctesiphon states that which is false.*

In his decree Ctesiphon writes: "That Demosthenes both says and does that which is advantageous to the State". I maintain that he does neither the one nor the other. To make any such statement, is to falsify our public records. In them you will find the truth about what he has done, and about what he has said. But if you wish to form a right estimate of his character, you must make it from the history of his crimes and his frauds. Of these I need not speak, for you are quite familiar with them. Now the very fact of your being familiar with them, taken by itself, is enough to condemn Ctesiphon. But over and above that which history records of him, I maintain that, throughout all his political career, he has been a traitor and scoundrel.

That political career, I understand, he is going to divide into four periods: (1) the war with Philip about Amphipolis, (2) the time during which the peace lasted, (3) from the second war till the defeat at Cheronea, (4) the present time, and then will ask me: "Of which of these four periods do you declare the words of Ctesiphon to be false?" I reply: "I maintain it of all four periods; and I furthermore assert that, during these periods, he was the cause of all the ills that fell upon Greece".

FIRST PERIOD (B.C. 357-346) FROM THE WAR ABOUT  
AMPHIPOLIS TILL THE PEACE OF PHILOCRATES.

Demosthenes aided and abetted Philocrates in bringing about the last ruinous war. They were the causes of our failure in it, and of our present enfeebled condition. I will make good this assertion, and will prove to you, that it is no thanks to Demosthenes that he has not done us more mischief than he has actually been able to effect. It was owing to him and to Philocrates that we were unable to conclude, in concert with all Greece, an honourable peace with Philip. His language against him was violent, hostile in the extreme, and, deceived by this outward show, you would never imagine that he was a partisan of the Macedonian king. Facts, however, far more convincingly than words, prove this to be true. These facts will make that truth to stand out before you evident as the sun in the heavens. They will show that, of the two traitors, Demosthenes is the more guilty. If the words in which I shall put before you these indisputable facts shall prove this to you, then you must admit that, for the first period, Demosthenes stands condemned.

SECOND PERIOD (B.C. 346-340) FROM THE PEACE TILL THE  
RENEWAL OF THE WAR.

When Philocrates was tried for his treasonable actions, Demosthenes was his advocate. Nay, he became a senator, in order to support his policy. In the Senate, he upheld him in every possible way; and not only in the Senate, but upon the Embassy, he threw the weight of his influence upon the side to which Philocrates leaned. Of the members of that Embassy, these are the only two upon whom Athens can fasten the crime of treason, for, of those who served upon it, they are the only persons who were open to cor-



ruption. They were corrupted, and with what result? An alliance was made with Philip, and Cersobleptes was betrayed. We cannot blame Philip for purchasing these two advantages, for he was our enemy; but, on the part of Demosthenes and of Philocrates, they are detestable acts of treason. Observe now how he effected his purpose. Before the arrival of Philip's ambassadors, he saw that for the accomplishment of his design, it would be necessary to isolate you from the rest of the Greeks. He, therefore, so contrived matters, as to bring about a meeting upon a day when it was impossible for you to be present. Yet, though neither you nor your allies were at that meeting, he carried a decree that the deputies should enter into a treaty, not only for a peace with Philip, but also for an alliance. They evidently did not wish for the alliance, because they spoke merely of the peace; and, furthermore, seeing the danger which menaced our allies by reason of these hurried proceedings, they insisted upon the insertion of a clause to the effect that, during the space of three months from that date, any Grecian State might claim the benefit of the treaty. In spite of their reluctance to enter into negotiations for an alliance, Demosthenes managed to secure it for Philip, and previously to the second Embassy, to betray Cersobleptes by the insertion of a clause, that only the allies then represented should be included in the oaths. The proofs of this piece of villainy are, fortunately for us, most circumstantially related in the State records. To these ambassadors from Philip, by whose aid he effected these measures, he paid most obsequious court. Yet, after all his disgusting flattery of Philip, he pretended when that monarch died, to have received from heaven a revelation of the auspicious event, and thereupon ostentatiously offered sacrifice to the gods for having removed from the theatre of politics, so dangerous a foe to Athens. What

time did he choose to manifest this unseemly exultation? Why, a time in which he was mourning the loss of his only daughter. What does conduct like that prove to demonstration? It proves that in his heart there is an absence of paternal love, and, consequently, that he is unworthy of trust.

The explanation of this sudden change of policy, and of the impunity with which it was allowed to pass, is not far to seek. It is this. On the invasion of Phocis, Demosthenes was in a very critical position. He had quarrelled with Philocrates, and to protect himself against the evils which might flow from that rupture, he drew up a formidable list of grievances, and began to launch against Philip accusations of a most damaging character. His change of front delighted the war-party. He was at once taken up by them, and made much of. As soon as Philip made advances towards a reconciliation, he rejected them, and then to strengthen the position of Athens, he brought about the much-vaunted Theban alliance. With respect to this apparently magnificent stroke of policy, you were, on two occasions, most shamelessly cheated by him. To understand the way in which this occurred, I shall be obliged first to explain to you his villainy with respect to Eubœa.

Although you had ample cause for complaint against the rulers of Chalcis and of Eretria, you freed Eubœa from Thebes. Notwithstanding this important service, Callias, on your second expedition, betrayed you at Tamynæ, so that you were on the point of being disgracefully worsted by an inferior antagonist. You condoned this treacherous act on the part of Callias, and to show you his gratitude, he armed Eubœa against you, on the frivolous pretext of bringing about unity among its people. Philip was the first to be favoured with his offers of service. Next, Thebes had the honour of being treated with proffers of his valuable

aid. That State was foolish enough to accept them, and was speedily deserted by him. When every other resource failed him, he came to you. Through the instrumentality of Demosthenes, he was fortunate enough to buy for himself a treaty, by which he saved himself, and withdrew Chalcis from the service of Athens, as well as the tribute which it was bound to pay into our exchequer. You were cajoled into granting this one-sided treaty—by Demosthenes—who, if we are to believe Ctesiphon, ever does that which is best for the State—and cajoled, be it observed, into sacrificing for mere sentiment, advantages the most substantial. In addition to this piece of knavery, he actually cheated you into the surrender, not only of Chalcis, but of Eretria and of Oreus.

The next move, in this disgraceful game, was that Callias in person came with a grand scheme for forming against Philip a confederation which, he said, would be strong enough to measure swords with that monarch. He had several other schemes for our consideration, schemes which were equally grandiose, equally visionary. After submitting them to our judgment, he appealed to Demosthenes, who, of course, confirmed all that he had said, and then went on to speak of certain wonderful embassies of his own. These, he informed us, would secure for our service an invincible army—invincible, at least, on paper—giving us, as is his custom, the precise dates at which it would be ready to begin operations, and also the exact number of men whom we could put into the field. After this, he proposed a decree as long as the *Iliad*, a decree which was to give you a splendid army. But did it accomplish his boastful promise? No, it did not. The only thing it did for you, was to empty your exchequer. For working out this piece of villainy, he received from each city in Eubœa, one talent. Now, you will naturally enough ask me, how I know this fact. I know

it, because it is recorded in the tablets, kept in the Archives of Oreus, from the poverty-stricken inhabitants of which place, he exacted every drachma of it. Conduct, such as this, is an evident proof that he is unworthy of the honour which Ctesiphon would have you bestow upon him.

### THIRD PERIOD (B.C. 340-338) FROM THE RENEWAL OF THE WAR TILL THE DEFEAT AT CHERONEA.

In this third period he was impious alike against gods and men. His impiety against the gods was committed in the affair of the Plain of Cirrah, the inhabitants of which were by the command of heaven, and the advice of Solon, reduced to slavery, and their land condemned to be for ever desolate. All Amphictyonic States are bound by an oath, and a terrible curse, to enforce this appalling sentence. Totally disregarding both the one and the other, the Locrians of Amphissa, encroached upon this interdicted plain. They cultivated it; they restored the harbour; and then fearing the consequences of their action, they bribed Demosthenes to speak for them, and defend them against the anger of the Amphictyonic Council, and of the Athenians. A worse defender they could not possibly have chosen; for his evil genius brings misfortune and ruin upon all that have dealings with him. Now when Midias and I held the office of Pylagori, there was brought forward against Athens a charge which told altogether in favour of Thebes. As was my bounden duty, I at once stood up to rebut that charge. The moment that I began to speak, some vulgar, uneducated fellow among the Amphisseans, interrupted me, and wished to have us condemned out of hand, without giving us a chance of even a hearing. In his harangue he brought forward against us every one of the accusations to which the party represented by Demosthenes have laid us open. I was so nettled by this unseemly and iniquitous conduct,

that calling to mind the heavy curse lying upon them, I pointed to the scene before us, read to them the sentence pronounced by the Council, declared that I had done my duty, and that Athens was free from all blame. "How can you," I asked, "how can you expect to be patiently borne with by the gods, if you suffer this profanation to continue?" My speech diverted the attention of the assembly. Instead of thinking about us, they began to think of the Amphisseans. The matter which I had brought back to their remembrance was eagerly discussed. The resolution arrived at was, that an end should at once be put to this scandalous profanation. On the following day, therefore, we went and destroyed the buildings erected upon the consecrated land. While engaged in this act of devotion to the gods, the Amphisseans assailed, and compelled us to flee for our lives. In a full assembly held on the following day, this act of aggression was the subject of our deliberation. After mature discussion, it was resolved to call an extraordinary Amphictyonic Council. Our resolution was approved of at Athens; but, by some means or other, Demosthenes managed to procure a sort of counter resolution, that we Athenians should not send any representative to the meeting. He went so far as even, in unmeasured terms, to denounce it—that is to say, he openly defied both the god and the curse. When, therefore, the meeting was held, neither we nor the Thebans took any part in it. In pursuance of the resolution arrived at in this assembly, the Amphictyons marched against the Amphisseans, but without any aid from Philip. In the first instance, they inflicted upon these sacrilegious wretches a very mild penalty. But when they proved refractory, the aid of Philip had to be called in, in order to reduce them to submission. All this is the outcome of the guidance of Demosthenes; he involved us in this predicament, just as he brought upon us the

disaster of Cheronea, by engaging in that fatal enterprise, though all the omens previously taken were adverse to us. These omens Philip, even when victorious, was careful to respect and follow. In consequence, therefore, of the impiety of Demosthenes, the gods have turned everything to our discomfiture; the great King is a fugitive, being overthrown by the champion of religion; Thebes, for its sacrilege, has been blotted out from the map of Greece; Sparta has been ruined for the share which it took in this unholy act; while we, for the hand which we had in it, are deprived of everything, but of our independence. These misfortunes, I repeat, have fallen upon us through the conduct of Demosthenes. He is the sinner whom Hesiod describes as the evil genius of a State.

With an effrontery, even more reprehensible still, he pretends that by his unaided eloquence, he brought about the Theban alliance, which, long before his time, our leading politicians had tried in vain to effect. In my opinion, it was Philip's advance, as Amphictyonic General, that left them no alternative but to have recourse to you. The share of Demosthenes in this transaction, of which he makes so great a boast, is confined to the infliction upon you of three wrongs. First, under a guarantee from us, he made Thebes mistress of Bœotia, imposing upon us the larger share of the expenses by sea, with only an equal share in the command. Secondly, he contrived by very equivocal means, to subordinate to himself our lawful government, which sat at Thebes. Having effected this, he grew so bold as to insult our Generals, to plunder our exchequer, and to divide our forces. Thirdly, when Philip made overtures to open negotiations with us, he violently rejected them. What was his reason for so doing? He was afraid that the Bœotarchs might obtain more bribes than he should. Therefore, like Cleophon, he pushed us on to our ruin,

while he all the while kept on denouncing the Bœotarchs for treating with Philip, thus forcing them to continue the war. After thus leading our brave men to their death, he had the audacity to deliver over them a funeral oration, and now he has the effrontery to ask for a crown, for having put them to death! Just picture to yourselves what a scene there will be in the theatre, when that crown shall be given, if, indeed, it ever will be given! On occasions such as these, it is our custom to bring into the theatre, clad in full armour, the children of those who for our sakes have fallen in battle. With that praiseworthy action, contrast the action of Ctesiphon, who, by his decree, would introduce into that same place their murderer, and, for having slain them, put upon his brow the crown which is the reward of virtuous and patriotic deeds! Be not so mad as, by an act such as this, to offer to the Thebans a most grievous insult. Pity them, and have regard to their wretched enslavement, and their fierce indignation against him who brought it about. To have caused but one accident, disqualifies the captain of a ship from any longer holding his command. What then shall we say of Demosthenes? Does not his whole career disqualify him, and make him unworthy any longer to hold the helm of the State?

#### FOURTH PERIOD (B.C. 340-338) FROM THE DISASTER AT CHERONEA TILL THE PRESENT TIME.

During the fourth period he studiously hid himself from public view. He kept away from Athens; but, though absent from her councils, failed not to enrich himself at her expense. At last he returned, but still shrouded himself in obscurity. As soon as Philip died, he was courageous enough once again to step into public view, and affected to sneer at his son, Alexander, as a timid school-boy; but,

much as he pretended to despise him, he had not courage enough to face that illustrious man when he was at Thebes. In spite of all his misdemeanours, you were so infatuated with him as still to trust him. How did he repay your trust? Through the intervention of a worthless boy, he bargained for the friendship of that very Alexander, for whom he expressed such unmitigated contempt! In spite of this dastardly conduct, he all the while professed to entertain towards him, the most inveterate enmity. But, though glad enough to be looked upon as his most implacable foe, he suffered to slip through his fingers three excellent chances of inflicting upon him a telling blow, first, at his entrance into Asia; next, before the battle of Issus, when he loudly proclaimed his situation to be desperate; and, lastly, when victory seemed about to desert him, and go over to the Spartans. Instead of then acting with vigour against him, whom he so roundly denounced as the foe of Greece, he contented himself with treating us to some inexplicable metaphors, as reasons for his inaction. Yet he dared to claim for himself, the credit of that which others were doing in opposition to this prince. Actions such as theirs he never yet had the courage to perform; but always shamelessness enough to ask payment for the pretended doing of them.

After conduct such as I have laid before you, Demosthenes would fain pose as a friend to our Constitution. Let us see whether he has the qualifications necessary for one who would sustain that honoured character. To be a friend to the Constitution, a man should be, first, a true-born citizen; for, if he be not, he will hate the Constitution which excludes him from the privileges of citizenship. Secondly, his ancestors should have been friendly towards our State, otherwise he will keep up towards it, the enmity which they have transmitted to him. Thirdly, he should, in his private



life, be a virtuous man, otherwise he will be open to bribery, in order to support himself in his evil courses. Fourthly, he should be a sound thinker, and, if possible, a good speaker. Lastly, he should be brave and high-minded.

#### INVECTIVE UPON THE WHOLE LIFE OF DEMOSTHENES.

It is true that the father of Demosthenes was really a citizen of Athens; but his mother was the daughter of Gylon, who betrayed Nymphæum. She was the offspring of his marriage with a Scythian woman, whom, during his exile, he had taken to wife. Therefore, by descent, Demosthenes is a barbarian and traitor.

What shall I say of his daily life? It was a life of prodigal extravagance, by which he utterly ruined a good fortune. He was consequently driven to make for himself another, first, by betraying the interest of his clients; and, next, those of his country. In this latter, most disgraceful kind of traffic, he has met with some success, but that success will be short-lived.

As for soundness of judgment and eloquence, I admit that he possesses these two inestimable advantages. But for what purpose does he use them? To disguise his scandalous profligacy.

Of courage, he himself admits that he does not possess a particle! That is an admission, which Solon considers to be, in itself, a crime, and not an excuse for the still greater crime of desertion. How can a man of this stamp be a friend to our Constitution! How is it possible to crown such a one!

To my mind, we are over lavish in bestowing these signs of merit. The consequence is, that the city is now worse off than formerly she was, and the citizens are less deserving of rewards than they used to be. Yet, in spite of this decadence, public rewards, which formerly were rare,

are now matters of daily occurrence. These two ills tend to perpetuate each other. Now, just as at the Olympic Games, if prizes were obtained through intrigue, no one would be at the trouble of training for them, so also, unless you carefully abstain from bestowing honours, except upon those who really deserve them, you will put an effectual stop to all competition, all emulation.

The great men of old, true patriots as they were, were never crowned. What is Demosthenes, if compared with them?

The reward of those who conquered Eion consisted of an inscription, which did not give their names. Look at the picture which represents the battle of Marathon! There you behold the commanding figure of Miltiades; but nowhere do you find his name. You will say: "Those who restored the democracy—were they not crowned? They were; but it was with olive leaves, not with gold!" In those days, a crown of leaves was deemed honourable, yet even that distinction was never bestowed till an indisputable proof of good service had been given. What a wretchedly mean reward was bestowed upon these heroes, if Ctesiphon is right!

Demosthenes, however, strongly objects to be compared with the men of former times. He would have it that he should be compared only with his contemporaries. To this my answer is, that no one should presume to ask for a crown unless his actions will bear comparison with the highest standard of merit.

Consider now the spirit of the men of those days. As I have heard from my father, who was contemporary with them, they were keenly alive to the misfortune that envelops a State, in which the laws are not respected. They, therefore, carefully attended to every legal detail, and the Courts visited with a suitable punishment, the slightest

irregularity of which any one might be guilty. In these days, however, it is not the laws that are heeded, but the speeches of the advocates. Since Demosthenes has influenced these Courts, their decisions are often given upon some irrelevant issue. In consequence of this change of spirit, we now find Aristophon taking quite a pride in cleverly escaping from charges, which Cepholus used to glory in never having incurred. As an instance in point, I may refer to Thrasybulus, who, notwithstanding his many services, did not escape punishment. Though Archinus was his intimate friend, he did not hesitate to prosecute him. He was a great stickler for law, and law, as you know, is not influenced by friendship. In these days, however, we find even good men, honoured public servants, turning against the service of the State. The right course to pursue, in all cases in which the law has been violated, is to speak only for the purpose of mitigating the sentence, not of altogether annulling it, or of preventing it from being given. Only in these circumstances are appeals to your favour untreasonable. In such trials, your advocates should never be allowed to obscure the simple, legal point at issue. On you, Judges! it depends whether these abuses shall continue, or shall at once, and for ever, be swept away. If you refuse to hear Ctesiphon, unless he shall speak to the point; and Demosthenes, unless he shall follow the order laid down by me in my speech, you will give a death-blow to this crying scandal. My order, then, is as follows: first, I quoted the law which forbids the crowning of an accountable official; next, I proved that Ctesiphon openly violated it; then, I answered the objections which he could bring against my position; after that I proved the mode of proclamation to be illegal, as the time at which the gift is to be bestowed is a time forbidden by the law; lastly, I laid before you a faint picture of Demosthenes' private vices,

and then exposed to your view as glaring a one as I could paint of his political treasons.

Keep him, I pray you, to this order. You may be quite sure that he will try to depart from it ; for his object is to thrust aside the legal aspect of the question, and fight the battle upon ground chosen by himself. This manœuvre you must not suffer him to execute. If you do, I can easily foretell that which will happen : he will arise and tell you that loyalty to the State, and loyalty to his party, are identical. If he appeals to our Constitution, tell him that it would long ago have ceased to exist, had our statesmen been like unto him. If he appeals to his oaths, remind him that both the gods and yourselves know him too well to put any trust in even his most solemn asseverations. If he throws himself upon your compassion, say to him : " You are in less danger than the city is ". It is absurd for him to look for pity, simply because he has not obtained a crown ; he ought to be ashamed to accept one, even if you were mad enough to offer one to him. Fear not that your refusal to do so will drive him to despair ; for, though he is ready enough to wound himself, in order to obtain money, he has not spirit enough to sacrifice his life for honour.

#### INVECTIVE AGAINST CTESIPHON.

Concerning Ctesiphon, I have little or nothing to say. I leave him to be dealt with according to your knowledge of him, and to all that Demosthenes knows about him ; for even he is ready to affirm that the private vices of Ctesiphon make his defence as difficult, as Ctesiphon proclaims the commendation of Demosthenes to be, by reason of his public corruption.

#### REFUTATION OF DEMOSTHENES, BY ANTICIPATION.

As a matter of course, Demosthenes is sure to make an

attack upon my character, on my political life, on my abstention from action, and on my private life. Let him do what he pleases. I fear nothing on these heads, for I am ashamed of none of them. Whenever I had anything to say, I spoke out, and not as he did, only when he was in need of money. Consequently I spoke less frequently. With respect to the present prosecution, it was begun, indeed, in Philip's lifetime, and not to please Philip's successor. "Why," it may be asked, "did I not bring it on at an earlier date?" In the conduct of this case, I have, like a free citizen, used my discretion. Demosthenes will turn upon me and say: "But never before did you institute a prosecution against me". In making that assertion, you forget a few hard facts. I exposed your sacrilege at Amphissa; your treachery in Eubœa; your frauds in the naval department. Formally, indeed, I did not prosecute you; because you took good care to make any such proceeding very unsafe for him who was bold enough to make the attempt. To escape from one such prosecution, you murdered your old host, Anaxinus; to evade others, you invented many false charges. Do you expect me to work wonders, and have my remedy all prepared before the disease has even manifested itself? To look for that, would be to hold me responsible for not arresting its progress, and to absolve yourself for having caused it. Add to all this, the never-to-be-forgotten fact, that the disaster at Cheronea furnished for our consideration matter of far more importance than either you or your affairs.

He compares the charm of my eloquence to that of the Siren's song. He himself should be the last to talk of the mischief worked by seductive speech. He does this, through fear that my words should move you to condemn Ctesiphon, for his illegal propositions. But let me ask you: How could you pass over an unlawful decree, proposed by a scoundrel, to crown a wretch who has discrowned the nation? How

could you, in the public theatre, give to that wretch an honour, to which he has as much claim as Thersites, without thereby making the State answerable for the misdeeds of its citizens, and not for their good and noble actions ?

Do you attribute our misfortunes to the withdrawal from us of the blessing of the gods ? Why not rather lay it to the fault of man ? Again : will you be so inconsistent, as in a question of law and politics, to give a false judgment, while in a mere game you visit that trifling fault with a heavy penalty ? If you behave thus, you will, for a mere nothing, sell your constitutional freedom, and incur the curse pronounced against perjury.

Of a truth, we do nothing to deserve prosperity. It is owing to mere chance, to good fortune, that our demagogues do not hold the same position that was held by the Thirty, who began just in the same way.

What, pray, are the merits of Demosthenes ? He prepared the city to stand a siege, which he did his best to bring upon it. Do merits, such as these, rest upon his general high character and service ? It were well you should say nothing about Amphissa or about Eubœa. As for Thebes, will you believe his statements, to the prejudice of Athens ? There occurred, in the case of Thebes, the same event that happened in the case of the King. Before Alexander's invasion, he insolently refused us money ; but after that event, in vain, did he pray us to accept his gold. So also was it with the Thebans, in the question of joining us. Demosthenes never ceased to talk of this State. But after all his talk he brought about its ruin, by keeping back the King's money, when five talents would have given to the Thebans the Cadmea, and nine would have purchased the Arcadian alliance.

Consider, now, the bad taste of self-praise, and of self-praise coming from the mouth of such a man as he. Far

better had it been, O Ctesiphon, if you had spoken for yourself. You might then have favoured the Court with a little of that eloquence and that pathos, which were of so great advantage to you in the case of Cleopatra. Let me ask you, is the fame of Demosthenes so little known, that it must needs be spread abroad by an elaborate panegyric? If this is so, there is but little resemblance between our great men and him. As far as I can see, his only claim to renown are his vices. Even the mute instruments with which men murder their fellow-men are reputed unclean; is not Demosthenes more than a murderer? Above all things bear in mind the moral effect, whether for good or for evil, produced by public proclamations and by public trials.

#### PERORATION.

Therefore, O Judges! give your votes in such a way, that the verdict will free the City from the shame attached to the deeds of Demosthenes. Of this it will most certainly be rid, if putting no faith in the fine names to which he appeals, you require him, before you leave the Constitution in his power, to give evidence of his responsibility. It is a disgrace that private men should assume the dignity and the power of the State, while the State itself, like a father in his dotage, tamely submits to be superseded in his own life-time. While in this city law held its due position, all those who ran away from battle were punished. Will you then acquit Demosthenes, who was guilty of this cowardice, and, by acquitting him, declare him to be beyond the reach of the law? Will you suffer Athens to be committed to his policy, and committed to it in presence of all Greece, assembled at the Pythian Games? Think seriously of your duties. Look at the very appearance of the man, and of his supporters. It is an indication of their habits. Think of his almost

blasphemous boastfulness. Picture to yourselves his array of corrupt supporters, met by Solon defending his own laws, by Aristides protesting against them in the name of justice, and by Hellas in the name of those who fell in the Persian wars.

I have spoken all that I have said, in order to do my duty, and to lift up my voice in the cause of virtue and of justice.



## CHAPTER III.

### LIFE OF DEMOSTHENES.

#### SECTION I.

##### *His Early Life and Oratorical Training.*

AN Athenian citizen named Gylon, in early manhood, left the land of his birth, and went to seek his fortune on a foreign shore. He settled at Bosporus, upon the Black Sea, and there married a Scythian lady, who bore him a daughter, to whom he gave the name Cleobule. The hand of this child, when at last she had attained the age of womanhood, was sought in marriage and won by a citizen of Athens, named Demosthenes. The fruit of their union was a boy and a girl. Of the girl, history has preserved but a meagre record; of the boy, to whom the father gave his own name, Demosthenes, she has written that neither in ancient nor in modern times, have there been any who surpassed, and but few who equalled, him in the faculty of a robust, manly, and over-mastering eloquence.

He was born in the year B.C. 385 or 384, and seems, in his early days, to have had a hard battle for existence, for the spark of life in him had but a frail tenement to inhabit. He was a fragile, delicate child, and grew up to be a shy, awkward boy, imperfect in his utterance, and stammering in his speech, too weak to mingle in the sports of his more sturdy companions, and too sensitive to endure their inconsiderate remarks, yet of a nature too spirited, tamely to submit to

the nickname Batalos or Stutterer, which they fastened upon him, for even at this early stage that tongue of his was a weapon of so keen an edge, that those who felt its cutting stroke, used to revenge themselves for the wounds which it inflicted by calling him "serpent".

At the age of seven, he had the misfortune to lose his father, who had amassed in the cutlery trade a modest little fortune of about fourteen talents, which, in our days, would be equivalent to the sum of £3400. Seeing in what a helpless, unprotected condition his wife and children would be placed by his death, he was anxious to secure for them the goodwill of some influential men, who would guard them from the rapacity and injustice of greedy relatives, unscrupulous officials, and needy dependants. Accordingly he appointed his nephews, Aphobus and Demophon, and Therippides, a friend of the family, to watch over the interest of his children, during the period of their minority. In his eagerness to fill the hearts of these guardians with tenderness for his little ones, he went so far as to give them each a considerable sum out of the slender purse which he had provided for the maintenance of his offspring. Aphobus was to marry the widow, Cleobule, and with her to receive eighty minæ; Demophon was to take to wife Cleobule's daughter as soon as she was of age, and to receive with her two talents; while Therippides had the use of seventy minæ until Demosthenes should arrive at man's estate. After making these arrangements, and, as he thought, warding off from his children even the possibility of injury, the dying man peacefully expired. As soon as decency permitted them, the guardians realised the legacies bequeathed to them, broke through the marriage arrangements, and for the next ten years so mismanaged the little property bequeathed to the widow and her orphan children, that when Demosthenes attained his majority, they handed over to him an empty

house, fourteen slaves, and a sum equivalent to about £340 of our money.

He was now of an age clearly to see the huge wrong that had been done to him and to his sister. He felt that wrong so keenly, that the smart of it was as a galling spur to a spirited horse. It urged him forward to seek redress and the means to bring down upon the robbers of his patrimony, the chastisement which they so richly deserved. But how was he, a shy, awkward youth, to set about so important an undertaking? How was he, practically friendless, to reach the ear of the powerful? How was he, well-nigh penniless, to set in motion the expensive machinery of the law, and make them refund the sums which either their incapacity or their villainy had subtracted from his little fortune? A seemingly unimportant incident is said not only to have suggested to him the means for doing all this, but to have determined the course of his future life, and launched him upon that career in which he eventually so far outstripped all rivals, as to be called the prince of Grecian orators. This was a conversation which he one day chanced to overhear between his tutor and some of his pupils, in which they spoke of a very important cause which was about to be pleaded by Calistratos. Thereupon, he was seized with a desire to hear the great orator speak, and made known that desire to the tutor, who promised to take him to the Court and procure for him a place in which he could both hear and see the famous pleader.

On the appointed day Demosthenes was present in the place assigned to him, and listened with rapt attention to the close argumentation, the flowing periods, and the splendid diction of this skilful orator. He marked the power which his words exercised upon the minds of the judges, and the spell which they seemed to cast over the audience. He listened to the applause which they called forth, and

observed the glory with which the faculty of eloquence was able to crown the brow of its possessor. At once there flashed into his mind the thought that this was the very weapon of which he stood in need, a weapon of irresistible power, a weapon which would inflict on those who had so deeply wronged him, the vengeance for which his heart panted, and procure for him the justice for which he had so long sighed in vain. Cost what it might, he also must be an orator. He felt that there was within him that which would make him one. Cumbered as it might be with obstructive matter, and hedged round with defects innumerable, still he felt that the faculty was there, and needed but the removal of these obstructions, which when swept away by study and patient exercise, would suffer the jewel to shine with all its natural brilliancy.

To that course of patient, persevering toil he now devoted himself. On the authority of Plutarch, we learn that while pursuing this course, he put himself under the guidance of Isæus, whose influence upon his early productions is very marked, particularly in the structure of the orations, in some of their expressions, and naturally enough in the faults of that orator, for these and any peculiar mannerisms are the features which strike and impress themselves upon the mind and the imagination of an inexperienced youth. He is said to have studied under Plato also, and from him to have learnt those noble maxims of which his orations are full; but this fact rests on the authority of a certain Hermippus, who drew his information from an anonymous document. He was deeply indebted, if we may believe Callias of Syracuse, to the orators Isocrates and Alcidas, whose rhetorical arts he is reported to have secretly got possession of, and to have so thoroughly learnt, as to make them sit as easily upon himself as did his own garments.

Under the training of these men, the faculty of eloquence

within him began to develop itself. His first task was to think out and write a speech for the recovery of his property, or, at least, for compensation for the losses which he had sustained by the mal-administration of his guardians. When thoroughly well prepared, he cited them before the Courts, and after several trials and several pleadings, he succeeded in wringing from them some small portion of his money. The lion's share of it, as in our own day, went to pay the expenses of the law.

Fired with ambition by the success which he had achieved, he, on some occasion or other of public meeting, essayed to address the Assembly of the people. But the oratory which had sufficed for the Court of Justice, in which he spoke before calm, impartial men, whose aim was to weigh arguments, to sift evidence, and not to criticise either matter or manner, utterly failed to win the ear of the fickle crowd. His harangue was received with shouts of derisive laughter; for his manner was odd and uncouth, the order of his ideas confused, and his argument forced and far-fetched. Added to this was the fact, that his weak voice hardly made itself heard above the shuffling, the muttering, and the murmuring of an impatient multitude. As if to make his breakdown complete, his halting speech, combined with his shortness of breath, gave to all his sentences a disjointed, interjectional sort of character which obscured his meaning, and puzzled even those who were so good-natured as to be willing to hear him unto the end. Quite disheartened by the unfavourable reception accorded to him, he hastily quitted the Assembly, and strode off to the Piræus, perhaps, to still the tempest of his own angry feelings, by gazing upon the calm, unruffled surface of the purple sea. As he walked sadly about, he was accosted by Eunomus, the Thiasian, who had probably been a witness of his discomfiture, and followed him from the Assembly. "My friend," said he, "be not

downhearted. Your manner of speaking has in it a something that reminds me of Pericles ; but, through softness of mind and cowardice, you do not develop that faculty. You do not courageously enough bear up against the popular tumult. You must exercise your body, and fit it for the fatigue of public speaking. Do not suffer it to grow languid through a spirit of sloth and negligence."

Encouraged by these kindly words, and conscious of the great power latent within him, he shortly afterwards, on another occasion, once again faced the public Assembly of the people in the Agora ; but with no better success. He left the Bema amid the shouts and derision of the crowd. This failure seems to have so thoroughly disheartened him that, muffling his head in his cloak, he slunk home quite crestfallen, despairing of ever being able to gain the ear of so fastidious and impatient an audience as was that which usually filled the great market-place of Athens. On this occasion also, a good friend followed his slow and almost tottering footsteps. This was the actor, Satyrus, who, through all the faults and blunders of this stammering, weak-voiced tyro, saw the stuff of which an orator is made. Coming to his house, he gained admittance, and began to converse with the down-spirited aspirant for the laurels of eloquence. By degrees, that which was uppermost in the mind of Demosthenes found expression in speech. With great bitterness he complained of his failure before that people, from whom men of far inferior mould were able to obtain a patient, and even an enthusiastic hearing. Admitting the truth of his words, the actor volunteered to show him the cause of this, if he would first repeat to him a few lines out of one of the tragedies of Euripides. With this very modest request, Demosthenes at once complied. Then the accomplished actor recited the passage which Demosthenes had just delivered ; but he gave it forth, with so much grace of elocution, and with a

gesture so polished, so aptly suited to the words, and so expressive of the sentiments conveyed by them, that it was quite a revelation to Demosthenes of the power of a finished delivery. He saw at once the vast difference between his own rendering and that of the actor, and determined to acquire that skill which would win for him the success after which he aspired.

For this purpose, and in order that he might, without fear of interruption, give himself up to study, Plutarch relates that he constructed for himself an underground chamber in which to go through his oratorical training. To force himself to adhere to the course of severe discipline on which he was about to enter, he shaved half his head, that for very shame he might not venture abroad. To correct the many defects under which he laboured, he took extraordinary means, which Demetrius, the Phalerean, affirms that he had learnt from the orator's own lips, when he had reached the height of his fame. In order to cure himself of stammering, he used, with pebbles in his mouth, to declaim set speeches. To strengthen his voice, it was his custom to recite pieces from the tragedies, while he walked either up some steep incline, or along the sea-shore. To eliminate from his action anything that was awkward, ungainly, and wanting in polish, it was his habit to exercise himself in gesture, while standing before a large mirror. Thus, by unremitting labour, he succeeded at last in setting his glorious faculty of eloquence free from everything that trammelled its action, and prevented it from soaring into those heights unto which its transcendent excellence and power afterwards enabled it to attain.

It was only after seven long years of this rude discipline, which few would have either the patience or the courage to undergo, that he ventured to offer himself as an advocate to defend the causes of others. Yet, with all his qualifications

for so important an office, he did not, for some time at least, personally appear in Court to speak for them. He wrote speeches for others, speeches which they themselves declaimed in presence of the judges, and he is accused by his enemies, and not without some show of truth, of sometimes furnishing both plaintiff and defendant with excellent harangues to support their respective claims.

The first case in which he appeared in Court, personally to plead the cause of another, was probably that against Leptines (B.C. 354). It was a case that was calculated to show off, to the best advantage, the many-sided qualifications of a great orator, inasmuch as it might be said to be at one and the same time a cause which was both private and public, both judicial and political. His adversary, Leptines, it seems, had caused a law to be passed, prohibiting the State from exempting any one from the burden of certain offices, which entailed great expense to those who held them. Only one exception was made, and that was in favour of the descendants of Harmodius and of Aristogiton. One of the first to appeal against the enactments of this law, was Ctesippus, who, on account of the glory won for Athens by his father, Chabrias, was one of the privileged persons whose rights were invaded by it. He put his case into the hands of Demosthenes, who took it up, and brought it into Court. In the speech which he delivered upon the occasion, the orator made the cause of his client quite a subordinate matter to the higher motives which he drew from the dignity of the Athenian people. He contended, that no limit should be put upon its power to distribute the favours and the privileges, with which it might think fit to honour those who, by their glorious achievements, had deserved well of it. One of the finest passages in this excellent oratorical effort, is that in which he points out how absurd it would be if the State should find itself debarred, by one of its own laws,



from rewarding in another, that patriotism which it had deemed so worthy of its favour in the person of Harmodius. In order to appreciate this speech, as it deserves to be appreciated, critics refer us to an oration which the rhetorician, Aristides, many centuries afterwards composed upon the same subject. The superiority of the work of Demosthenes is made, by that contrast, to stand out in bold relief, as the production of a man of genius, able by his mastery of argument and of language, to play upon the minds and the passions of his audience, as a musician plays upon the keys of the instrument under his hands.

After this brilliant success he wrote, but did not speak, the oration against Androtion; and in the two following years, those against Conon and Aristocrates. Accompanying and following these, were the various speeches which he composed for his clients. They are all of the aggressive type; not one is for the defence of any one. This style of pleading seems to have been more in accord with the harsh, pugnacious character of Demosthenes, a character which made him inclined to rend and tear in pieces, rather than to heal differences and explain misunderstandings. When injured in any way, he did not hesitate to cite the aggressor before the Tribunals, and plead his own case against them. This he did when Midias, after first grossly insulting him, struck him upon the face. His speech is an admirably reasoned invective; but it was never delivered before the judges. Probably the defendant knew full well the crushing blows which so formidable an adversary could deal to his character. He did not wish to be held up to the obloquy of his countrymen and the derision of the Athenians. He therefore compromised the matter, and kept himself out of Court, by paying over to Demosthenes a few thousand drachmas. Sometime after this event, another enemy wounded him in the head. He summoned him also before

the Tribunals, and made him pay a considerable fine for the damage which he had inflicted upon him. In consequence of these proceedings, it became a saying among the wits of the Agora, that the head of Demosthenes was a source of revenue to him.

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SECTION II.

*Philip of Macedon.*

The time was now at hand when Demosthenes was to enter upon his political career, and stand before the world as the most patriotic, the most able, the most consistent statesman of his age. The opponent against whom he flung himself with all the intense earnestness of his character, and who was the unwitting cause of many of his most brilliant oratorical efforts, was the far-famed Philip of Macedon. At a very early stage of his career, the keen eye of Demosthenes detected in his proceedings a danger which threatened the liberty, nay, the very existence of Athens as the leader of Grecian thought and of Grecian influence. Of this there are traces to be found in many of his early speeches. These the eye of the student will be able to detect, but only when he is thoroughly conversant with the rise and the progress of Philip's power.

Through that overweening contempt which the Greeks ever manifested for those whom they accounted as little better than barbarians, Philip was able to grow in might and in influence, without attracting too much attention. His youth had not been brightened with the sunshine of prosperity. As a child, he could call to mind a day when he had knelt with his brother and his mother, as a suppliant at the feet of the Athenian general, Iphicrates. While a youth, he had spent three years as a hostage in Thebes. In the school of adversity he learnt patience, perseverance, caution ;

and besides these virtues, so necessary for any one who would succeed in any walk of life, he carried away with him from Thebes, an accurate knowledge of another science which stood him in good stead in all the course of his after life. He learnt the military tactics of the great chief Epaminondas, tactics which enabled him to defeat by steady skill the impetuous rush of men fired by enthusiasm, and the might of patriotic zeal.

In the year B.C. 360 he governed for his nephew ; but, in the following year, he assumed the reins of sovereignty for himself. He had for subjects a disheartened people, whose spirit was broken by misfortunes ; an upper class that claimed an undue influence in all affairs of State ; and on his frontiers, many hostile peoples. Nothing dismayed, he set about his task, and, before the lapse of two years, had, by his ability and his energy, put quite a new face upon the aspect of affairs. His confidence revived the spirits of the people, his firm government put his nobles in their places, his strategic skill cleared his frontiers of enemies. But, in order to have a prosperous people, he saw that he must have a sea-board, both to export the produce of his kingdom, and to import the various commodities of which that kingdom had need. To secure this was the aim of his life. On calmly examining the obstacles which stood in his way, and the means at his disposal for removing them, and winning the prize from the possession of which they debarred him, he was filled with hope, and felt confident of his ability to compass the end which he had in view.

Between him and the sea, there were three powers which barred the way—Athens, Amphipolis, and Olynthus. A coalition among these, would put an effectual stop to the object of his ambition. But that coalition must not take place ; and to prevent it from taking place was the first move in the game, which Philip now began to play for

power. He accordingly cast his eyes upon Amphipolis, a city at the mouth of the river Strymon, commanding the road from east to west. The watchful eye of Pericles had seen the importance of this position, as an outpost for the protection of Athens, and that able statesman had founded the town there in the year B.C. 437. During the Peloponnesian War it had been seized by Brasidas, and every effort to retake it had proved fruitless. On his accession to power, Philip, in order to conciliate the Athenians, withdrew the garrison; but, with their usual indifference, they had not sent troops to occupy the city. When, however, he found himself firmly seated on his throne, he soon discovered a pretext for attacking it, and accordingly moved his forces against it. The Amphipolitans, as was natural, at once applied to Athens for aid. Knowing that this would be the result of his first move against them, Philip had previously entered into secret negotiations with the Athenians, offering to give up to them Amphipolis, if they would yield up to him Pydna, which had been wrested from the dominion of Macedon. As soon, therefore, as the Embassy from Amphipolis arrived at Athens, Philip had so managed matters, that, at the same time his letters should arrive, announcing to the Athenians that he was besieging Amphipolis, in order to take it, and hand it over to them.

The Athenians agreed to the bargain which Philip offered them. They were ready to give up Pydna; but when Philip had taken Amphipolis (B.C. 357), he refused to surrender it to the Athenians. Thus, they had the mortification to discover, that they had been most egregiously duped by this man whom they affected to look upon as an outer-barbarian.

Thoroughly alarmed by the fall of Amphipolis, the inhabitants of Olynthus, fearing for themselves a similar fate, looked about for some powerful State with which to ally

themselves. As might have been expected, they first made overtures to Athens, knowing full well how deeply she was incensed at the dishonesty of Philip, and how readily she would unite with any one who showed a disposition to oppose his encroachments. Philip, also, was keensighted enough to know, that this was the very proceeding which would follow from his occupation of Amphipolis. He therefore set his agents to work to prevent any bond of union from being forged between the two States. These agents of his swarmed in every place. At Athens, they now industriously gave out, that he would deliver up Amphipolis to her government; and when questioned for the reason why that surrender had not already taken place, they adroitly gave the rulers to understand, that if Pydna were surrendered to the King of Macedon, the gates of Amphipolis would at once be thrown wide open for the entrance of Athenian troops. This caused Athens to hesitate about accepting the offers of Olynthus. She did not want to estrange Philip from her, nor yet to give up her hopes of regaining Amphipolis. Accordingly, the advances of the Olynthians were rejected.

Thus repulsed, and not knowing whither to turn for aid, the Olynthians, like a bird that looks into the glare of the serpent's eyes, fluttered into the arms of Philip. They opened wide to him their gates, and welcomed his advance upon them. He at once made an alliance with them, and as a proof of his goodwill, ceded to them the possession of Anthemus, which lay between them and Macedon. He then seized upon Pydna (B.C. 357), and laid siege to Potidea, an Athenian town which commanded the Isthmus of Pallene. Thoroughly roused by this second evidence of bad faith, the Athenians sent help to the beleaguered city. That help, however, arrived too late. Potidea surrendered to his arms. Its garrison was sent home to Athens with profuse expressions of esteem for the city; and Philip then handed over Potidea

to the Olynthians. By this clever move, he now held possession of two Athenian seaports; and feeling himself tolerably secure, founded in the neighbourhood of Amphipolis, among the mines of Mount Pangæus, a city which he named after himself "Philippi". These mines furnished him with the sinews of war; for, their annual yield of gold amounted to the sum of 1000 talents. From the mountains round about, he procured timber to build ships. Thus furnished with every necessary for carrying out his ambitious projects, he felt himself a match for any one who should dare to measure swords with him. Fortune, moreover, smiled upon him; for in this year (B.C. 356) his general, Parmenio, defeated the Illyrians; the horses which he had sent to Olympia won the chariot race; and his son Alexander was born.

The next three years were employed by him in consolidating the conquests which he had made. There were now no reports of the marching of troops; no alarms about his sieges; no rumours of his future projects against neighbouring States. This inaction—or rather apparent inaction—gave the Athenians great satisfaction. They thought that he would now be content with the territories on which he had seized, and would trouble them no more. Methone had been wrested from them in B.C. 356. That town was their outpost on the Macedonian coast. Only Thessaly now interposed a barrier between Greece and Philip, a barrier which might easily be broken down whenever a favourable opportunity for so doing presented itself. That opportunity was afforded him by the Sacred War which broke out in B.C. 355. The spark which kindled this conflagration, was struck out of the Phocians by the action of Thebes in their regard. They had been guilty of an act of sacrilege, for which Thebes had imposed upon them a heavy fine. Thereupon the Phocians took possession of the

Temple of Delphi, and appropriated its accumulated treasures, with which they hired mercenary troops to fight their battles. To make themselves more secure, and better able to meet any coalition formed against them, they allied themselves with the tyrants of Pheræ. The Amphictyons then appealed to Philip to come to their assistance. This was the grand opportunity for which he was waiting. He eagerly seized upon it; for, instead of appearing as an aggressor, an invader, he could now pose as the champion of freedom and of religion, and, under that cloak, enter Greece with, at least, some show of propriety and reason. A victory which he gained in B.C. 352, made him master of Thessaly. His position there, in the port of Pagasæ, gave him the command of Eubœa, and enabled him to threaten even Athens herself. The advantages secured for him, by his present strategical position, inspired him with the determination to penetrate into Greece, and punish the Phocians for their sacrilege and their defiance of the Amphictyons. He, therefore, put his army in motion, and marched upon Thermopylæ. This was the very gate into Attica. An enemy was on their threshold. The audacity of the act roused the Athenians from their lethargic slumber. They flew to arms, and marched in all haste to the famous pass, where a mere handful of Spartans had held at bay the hosts which had swarmed out of Persia to overwhelm and enslave them. Philip, therefore, finding the passage blocked against him, and knowing well the futility of trying to force it against men fired with the enthusiasm which then burned in the breasts of every Athenian, prudently fell back, and in the latter half of that same year, led his army into Thrace. Town after town submitted to him; till, at last, he camped his forces in the Chersonesus (B.C. 357). Once, again, all Attica was in a state of acute alarm. From the borders of the Euxine they received their supplies of corn, by the im-

portation of which they were mainly supported. Of this source of existence, Philip now held the command. At all hazards, and at any cost, that must be wrested from him. Accordingly, in a public assembly, they voted for the immediate enrolment of a force, which was straightway to proceed to the Euxine, and attack Philip. In the meantime, rumours came that he was sick; then, that he was dead. At once their usual torpor fell upon the Athenians, and the troops did not set forth on the expedition. Once, again, there were reports that Philip had not died; that he was active; nay, that he was meditating further schemes of conquest. These vague rumours roused into activity the slumbering energies of the people. More resolutions of a very warlike character were made; troops were to be raised; supplies to be voted. But nothing was done. At last, in B.C. 351, Demosthenes came forward, and in words that made every heart vibrate with patriotic emotion, called upon the people to break away altogether from their old system of procrastination, and boldly face their enemy in the field.

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## SECTION III.

*Opposition to Philip.*

From what has been said concerning the rise and the progress of Philip's power, it will now be easy to follow the conduct of the great Athenian statesman, in opposing his ambitious designs against Athens. As we have already observed, Demosthenes, at a very early stage in the rise of the Macedonian, had begun to look askance at that energetic prince, who was making so great a stir beyond the northern frontier. He saw that there had sprung into existence a military genius who, in addition to his talent for guiding the storm of war, possessed the qualities which constitute a great political leader, the tact of smoothing away differences,



of uniting apparently discordant parties, of making them work with him, and of bringing them to do his will, while they imagine that they are carrying out their own designs. He marked his steady march southwards; how every step was calculated; and was but a fresh move in the game which he was playing for self-aggrandisement. First, there was the taking of Amphipolis; next, the seizure of Pydna and of Potidea; then the capture of Pagasæ, by the possession of which strategical points, he held command of the way into Greece. Later on, Methone fell into his power; and, finally, after defeating the tyrants of Pheræ, and, under pretence of chastising the Phocians, he marched upon Thermopylæ, with the intent of entering Attica itself. Only six short years had sufficed to accomplish all this; and behold the Macedonian was almost at the gates of Athens! Only the prompt action of the citizens in at once defending the pass, and barring his progress, had prevented his invasion of their territory. When, after this check, Philip fell back upon Thrace, and there pursued his conquests, laying hold of the very source whence the Athenians were fed, some futile measures were taken to check him, but all these failed through the negligence and the apathy which seemed to wrap them round, as with indissoluble bonds.

At last, after much idle talk, and useless, impracticable propositions, Demosthenes came forward, in one of the public assemblies, and delivered what is now called his first Philippic oration (B.C. 352, 351). He pointed out to them that heretofore everything had gone ill with them, in their dealings with the Macedonian monarch, simply and solely because they had not put forth their strength against him, but had trusted to others to do that which only they could accomplish. Hence the blame of failure lay at their own doors. He showed them that Philip would not be content with what he had already acquired, but would ever stretch

forth his hands to grasp more and more. Consequently, he must be opposed. The plan which he suggested for meeting and checking his encroachments was a very simple, a very modest, but a very effectual one. They must first equip a fleet of fifty triremes, to be manned, not by mercenaries, but by Athenian citizens. This was to be ever in readiness, and at a moment's notice to sail off to any port where Philip might chance to be carrying on his depredations. To act in concert with this naval force, he furthermore proposed that a small army should be raised, consisting of two thousand infantry and two hundred cavalry. The base of its operations, he advised, should be in Lemnos, in Imbros, or in one of the adjacent islands, so as to be able to anticipate any movement contemplated by Philip. Thus, they would be able to strike him first, and not, as had previously been the case, attempt that stroke after he had accomplished the ends which he had in view, thereby imitating the blunders of a barbarian boxing with a trained athlete. When struck on one side, he puts his hand to the place where he has received the blow; when struck on the other, he transfers it to that; but never thinks of guarding himself, or of planting a blow upon the face of his adversary.

After an apparent interval of repose, during which, nevertheless, much had been done to secure and consolidate his conquests, Philip marched into the Chalcidice, and besieged some of the confederate towns. With professions of peace upon his lips, he yet, as we have seen, aimed at Olynthus, the inhabitants of which, bearing in mind the fate of Amphipolis, saw that they were menaced, and accordingly applied to Athens for aid. When the embassy which came to ask for help and to conclude an alliance with Athens arrived in the city, Demosthenes once again came forward to plead against Philip (B.C. 349). The speeches which he delivered

during this year against the Macedonian are three in number, and are named from the city in favour of which he spoke them, the *Olynthiac* orations. In the first of these, his one object was to raise funds for the aid of those who had appealed to them for help. He, therefore, pointed out to the people two ways of obtaining these funds, with either of which he said that he would be content. But all the time his real purpose was eventually to propose that, instead of levying a fresh tax upon the people, it would be well to devote the Festival Fund to this most urgent necessity. He called upon them to do promptly that which it was imperative upon them to do. Their action should consist in despatching at once a force made up exclusively of Athenian citizens to defend Olynthus, and another, also composed of citizens, to harass Macedon, and thus create a diversion. Present circumstances seemed imperatively to call for their intervention. Olynthus was at feud with Philip, and ready to throw itself into their arms. Their very existence was at stake. If once Olynthus fell, the way was wide open for Philip to march into Greece. Therefore, his definite advice to them was to do their utmost to save the towns of the Chalcidice now threatened, and some actually besieged, by the Macedonian. In the next place, to carry the war into Philip's own territory, by attacking his possessions in his own country. As a matter of course, funds were needed for these operations, small as they actually were; but without extra taxation, these funds could not be raised, unless, indeed, that money which was ready at hand, but protected by a formidable law, and therefore put beyond their reach, could in some way or other be applied to this purpose.

In consequence of the words of Demosthenes, the Athenians, as we saw, so far bestirred themselves, as to make an alliance with Olynthus. Whether they sent any material

aid, is not quite certain. If any was despatched to their assistance, it must have been only a mercenary force, and quite inadequate for the ends for which Demosthenes destined the expedition. Once again, in this same year, the orator came forward to plead the cause of Olynthus. His aim, in so doing, seems to have been to encourage the Athenians, by pointing out to them that Philip was not so powerful as he appeared to be, but might be thrown down from the eminence to which, through their apathy, he had been enabled to climb. His external weakness was manifest, from the unstable nature of his relations with his allies. His internal weakness, from the discontent of his subjects and the coolness of his friends. When next he ventured to urge his countrymen to take up arms at once, and at the same time to beat back Philip from Olynthus, and protect themselves against his ambitious aims, he now no longer hesitated to propose that the Festival Fund should be devoted to these patriotic purposes. He was enabled the more easily to advocate this measure, from the fact that his other scheme for raising money by a tax on all, except the very poor, was unpopular and difficult to carry into effect. He therefore boldly asked that the law forbidding the Theoricon or Festival Fund to be devoted to any other purpose, should be repealed. This proposition was finally adopted, but only when Athens had her hands occupied with a useless enterprise on behalf of Philarchus in Eubœa ; yet, though for the moment adopted, the measure was eventually rejected, and Appollodonis, who proposed it, prosecuted. When Philip, in the early spring of B.C. 348, marched into the Chalcidice, and the towns one by one fell before his victorious arms, the Athenians, in answer to the despairing appeals of Olynthus, sent to their aid a considerable force of citizens. Unfortunately, the winds were contrary. The much-needed help did not arrive in time, and Olynthus fell. It was rased to the ground, and its inhabitants were sold into slavery.

## SECTION IV.

*Peace with Philip.*

This victory, and the terrible severity with which the conquered were treated, seem to have opened the eyes of even the warmest advocates for peace. From Athens embassies were sent out through the various States, to stir them up to unite in a national war against this man who was threatening their liberty. Though earnest in their endeavours, these embassies could not bring the Greeks together into one great coalition against the common enemy. There were mutual jealousies, mutual distrusts, old grudges, old grievances, which acted as repellent forces and hindered them from tending to a common centre, whence united action might have been directed. On the failure of this attempt to secure united action, only one other course was left open for the statesmen who had at heart the interest of their fatherland. Some short breathing space must be secured for the country, now for several years beaten down by the storms of war. Philip must be treated with, especially because he had hinted, previously to the capture of Olynthus, that he was willing to enter into negotiations with Athens, and also because among the vanquished who had fallen into his hands on the taking of the city, was a certain number of Athenians for whose liberation it was necessary to arrive at some agreement with him. Another motive which helped to intensify the desire of Athens no longer to be at variance with Philip, was the fact that about this very time (B.C. 347) Thebes had appealed to him against the Phocians, and these latter, who held the pass of Thermopylæ—the very gate of Attica—had called upon Athens for aid against the attack which they feared that he would be only too glad to make upon them. In response to this cry, they had despatched with all speed a considerable force to the assistance

of the Phocian General Phalæcus, who commanded the pass. But, strange to say, the Athenian soldiers on their arrival were not suffered by him to enter Thermopylæ. Seeing in this either the secret machinations of Philip, or a great distrust of their honesty, they became only the more eager to come to terms with the Macedonian, who on his side was scheming to bring about an amicable settlement, in order that he might, without opposition, enter Greece. His aim was to march through Thermopylæ as the avenger of the god—as the minister of the Amphictyons—in the punishment of a sacrilegious people.

The first overtures for peace came from Athens. A decree proposing that ten ambassadors should be chosen and sent to Philip, in order to treat for peace, was proposed by Philocrates, and seconded by Eubulus. Among those chosen for this mission, were Demosthenes and his future adversary, Æschines. On the journey to Pella, Demosthenes, if we may credit the account of his rival, was very bold and boastful of what he would say to Philip; but in the reception hall in the presence of the king, he lost command of himself, and, after a few confused, incoherent sentences, quite broke down. On the homeward journey, his chief anxiety was to persuade his fellow-ambassadors to say nothing of his discomfiture; but for this and for other matters to the discredit of Demosthenes during this embassy, we have only the authority of Æschines, in which authority it would be rash to put implicit trust.

In response to the overtures of the Athenian ambassadors, Philip sent back with them a letter, in which he hinted at certain great favours which he was about to perform for the city, and concerning which he would have been much more explicit could he have been certain of an alliance with her as well as a peace. The actual terms which he proposed as the basis of this peace, was the maintenance of the *status quo*—each

party to hold that of which it was actually in possession at the time of the treaty. To discuss these terms an assembly was called, in which the two points submitted for deliberation were : first, was Philip to remain master of that upon which he had already seized ? and, secondly, who were to be included in the peace ? Philocrates proposed that the peace should be concluded and the alliance made between Philip and his allies on the one side, and Athens and her allies on the other. In the document received from Philip, two of the allies of Athens were specially excluded. These were the Phocians, and the town of Halus in Thessaly. Æschines gave to the proposition of Philocrates his complete and unconditional adhesion ; Demosthenes, his adhesion except to the clause which related to the Phocians and to Halus. The assembly followed Demosthenes, and struck out of the treaty the clause to which he had taken exception, thinking that by so doing they would save their allies. But to no purpose ; for, when Philip's ambassadors six days afterwards came to Athens to administer the oaths, they refused to include the Phocians in the treaty. Their master had given them strict injunctions to insist upon this condition ; for to him it was of vital importance. His aim was to enter Greece, and to enter, not as an enemy, but as a friend called in to avenge an insult offered to the deity by these Phocian allies of Athens. Important as their exclusion from the treaty was to Philip, it was every whit as important to Athens that they should have a share in all its benefits, for in point of fact they were the doorkeepers of Attica, inasmuch as they held the pass of Thermopylæ. In this dilemma, Philocrates and Æschines spoke out boldly and earnestly for Philip, maintaining that Philip's only reason for showing so great opposition to the Phocians, was because of his relations with Thebes ; but that as soon as peace was agreed upon, he would look upon the Phocians as allies, would humble Thebes, and restore to

Athens Oropus and Eubœa. These were the very objects for which the people were ardently longing; consequently, the soothing words of these unpatriotic men, were greedily listened to and their advice blindly followed. The oaths were taken, and the Phocians were left out of the treaty.

Having accepted the terms proposed by Philip's envoys, it was now necessary that his signature should be appended to the document. To receive this signature from him, there were chosen the same ambassadors that were sent upon the previous mission. Demosthenes had already had sufficient experience of the methods pursued by Philip in his dealings with Athens to lead him to suspect that the Macedonian king would reckon the time at which the treaty was to come into force, not from the day on which negotiations were begun, but from that on which his signature should be affixed to the document. Hence he was anxious that the embassy should set forth at once, and proceed without delay to the place in which Philip was. He did his utmost to hurry them on; but to no purpose. Ten whole days were spent at Athens, before the envoys thought of moving. When at last they did set forth, they proceeded on their journey in an easy-going, leisurely sort of way, just as if it was a matter of the utmost indifference to them, at what time the important document received its ratification. Instead of going straight to the place in which the king was eagerly pursuing his conquests, they went to Pella, and unconcernedly awaited his return from Thrace. By acting thus, they had gone in direct opposition to their instructions; fifty days had now elapsed since they had left Athens, and during that interval Philip had time to accomplish his design of reducing to submission Cersobleptes, one of the Athenian allies.

When he had secured for himself all that he desired, he came to Pella to meet the ambassadors. He himself took



the oaths, without saying anything whatever about his allies. He then invited the Athenian ambassadors to mediate between Halus and Pharsalus. Demosthenes became very uneasy and suspicious, seeing all this cajolery and unfair dealing. He wanted to send to Athens a despatch acquainting the Senate with the state of affairs. This his fellow-envoys would not suffer him to do. After this ineffectual effort to open the eyes of his countrymen, he himself essayed to be the messenger to them. In the accomplishment of this intent also he was stopped short by his colleagues. At last at Pheræ, in Thessaly, the oaths were administered to Philip's allies, and then the Athenian envoys, their mission being over, returned home after an absence of seventy days. Then at last the righteous anger of Demosthenes found a vent. He laid before the Council a report of the whole proceedings, accused of treason, both Æschines and his abettors, and implored his countrymen to save Phocis and defend Thermopylæ. His words did not wholly miss their mark. They struck out of the hearts of the rulers, some feeble spark of indignation, and caused them to withhold from the embassy, the usual vote of thanks accorded to such deputations on their return from a public mission. A few days later Æschines addressed the people, and succeeded in quieting their agitation. He assured them that Thebes, and not Phocis, was the mark at which Philip aimed. He said that the king would hand over to them Eubœa, as a set-off against his seizure of Amphipolis, and finally hinted that he would restore to them Oropus. As if to confirm these delusive promises, there was shortly afterwards received from Philip a letter full of empty expressions of goodwill.

When the public mind had been thus educated into an acquiescence in Philip's will, Philocrates proposed a decree that the Phocians should deliver up to the Amphictyons, the Temple of Delphi, and that if they refused to do so, the

Athenians should compel them by force of arms. Seeing themselves thus abandoned by Athens, the Phocians, through their general, made their own terms with Philip, who thus became master of Thermopylæ. This occurred while a third embassy from Athens was on its way to present to the Macedonian king the decree of Philocrates. Before that embassy had accomplished its mission, news of the surrender to Philip of the famous pass, was brought to Athens. Philip had once more outwitted them, and gained his ends in spite of their opposition. As soon as he was in possession of the gate into Attica, he called upon the Amphictyons to pronounce their sentence upon the Phocians, a sentence dictated, no doubt, by himself. Their decree was that Phocis should cease to be a State; and, in consequence of this, twenty-two Phocian towns were dismantled, and their inhabitants dispersed in the villages round about. They were deprived of their arms; their votes and their seats in the Amphictyonic Council were taken from them, and handed over to Philip. A further honour was conferred upon him by the fact of being chosen to preside at the Pythian games. This distinction so angered the Athenians, that they refused to send a representative of their city to be present at them. That which they had so earnestly desired to prevent, and which through their own fault they had failed to prevent, had now come to pass—Philip was admitted into the Greek Commonwealth. In their indignation, they stood proudly aloof, and would not recognise him. Philip was determined that they should do so, and sent an embassy to them to demand their recognition. This was adding insult to the injury which they deemed themselves to have received by his intrusion. Popular indignation rose to a white heat, and the party which fanned the flames of that popular indignation, urged the already over-excited multitude flatly to refuse this upstart any recognition whatever. Demos-

thenes, however, took a more statesmanlike view of the situation, and in a speech which is called "On the Peace" prevailed upon them to look facts calmly in the face, and make the best of their awkward and undignified position. They had just concluded a peace with Philip, a peace unworthy, indeed, of Athens, yet one which once made, must be kept. Their policy, at present, must be to avoid anything that would bring about, among the Amphictyons, a coalition against their State. Deeply chagrined as they were, they were nevertheless not so blind as not to see the wisdom of this prudent counsel which, much against their will, they followed. Subsequent history showed the political foresight of their great orator, in advising them as he did.

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## SECTION V.

*From the Peace till Cheronea.*

Between the year B.C. 346 and the year 338, Demosthenes laboured most assiduously to form a national confederation against Philip. He was fully convinced that his ultimate end was to thrust Athens out of her leadership of the Hellenic race, and to usurp that proud position for himself. Therefore, although during this interval Philip was guilty of no open act of hostility against her, yet he felt that he was secretly endeavouring to undermine her influence. Consequently, he narrowly watched his every move, and made it his sole aim to meet and check him. The first sign of life given by the Macedonian king, was his establishment of an oligarchical power in Thessaly (B.C. 344). His next step towards the object which he ever kept in view, was the support which he gave to Messene and Argos, against Sparta. At once Demosthenes saw the drift of this assistance, and proposed that an embassy should be sent to these States, to counteract the influence which this apparent interest

in their affairs, would naturally win for Philip. He himself was the leader among those who were elected to go upon this mission. He pointed out to the authorities at Argos and at Messene, the danger with which the friendship of Philip threatened them; for, he had acted a similar part with regard to Olynthus and Thessaly, and at last had clutched them in his tyrannous grasp.

The immediate result of this embassy, was the advent to Athens of envoys from the States visited by Demosthenes. Their arrival in the city, and their mission, gave him an opportunity of once more speaking out his mind about the restless usurper who kept hovering over them, like a bird of prey. This oration is called the Second Philippic, and is evidently a reply to some remonstrances of the Macedonian about what he is pleased to call "the misconstruction put upon his action" by the Athenians. It points out that his action belies his words, and shows him to be pursuing a determinate plan of hostility to Athens. Demosthenes seems to have carried his countrymen with him, in the view which he took of the situation; for he and his party were so emboldened by the influence which they had undoubtedly won for themselves, that in B.C. 343 they impeached Philocrates, who prudently withdrew into exile, and while absent from the fatherland, was condemned to death. Also, Demosthenes once again took up his charge against Æschines, for having concluded a disgraceful and ruinous peace, but was not able to secure a conviction. Though unsuccessful in bringing to justice one who had played into the hands of Philip, and aided him in his designs against Greece, he was able to rescue Megara from the hands of the Macedonian; and when that indefatigable monarch, baffled in this place, marched upon Ambracia, he contrived to have on the spot some Athenian troops who thwarted his design, and thus blocked his way towards the south. To render still more

remote any danger of an invasion of Attica, Demosthenes, at the head of an embassy, went to Acarnania, and was fortunate enough to form there a powerful league against Philip. This diverted him from operations in that quarter, and caused him once again to turn his attention to Thrace, where he pushed his conquest so far eastward, as to fix his covetous eyes upon the territory which lay between the Hellespont and the Euxine, and determine to annex it to his crown. Once in possession of that region, he would be able most grievously to wound Athens, as a very considerable portion of her corn supply was drawn thence.

As usual, some specious pretext was necessary to give an air of righteousness to his contemplated invasion ; for this territory had long been regarded as belonging to Athens. Some such pretext is never hard to find, when the mind is bent upon satisfying its greed. The Athenian mercenary, Diopethes, furnished him with that which he wanted. This soldier had endeavoured to force upon Cardia some settlers, who by the recent treaty had been included among the allies of Philip. Naturally enough, he sent them aid, and to punish this interference, Diopethes made a raid upon those parts of Thrace subject to Macedon. His action drew from Philip a remonstrance, to which the creatures of that monarch urged the Athenians to give heed. Demosthenes, in his speech on the Chersonese, told them to pay no attention whatever to it ; because though they were not openly at war with the king, he was covertly warring against them, and that the position was too important to be given up, now that the cloud of war hung over, and every moment threatened to burst upon them. After the lapse of three months, he once again appeared upon the platform, and delivered a speech which is known as the Third Philippic. In this, he urged the Athenians to arm themselves against Philip, and putting themselves at the head of a coalition formed by the Grecian States, to march

against him. In order to bring about this national union, he advised that embassies should be sent out to these various States, to point out to them the danger with which they were threatened, and to rouse them up by every patriotic motive and sentiment to meet, and, if possible, to avert it.

His advice was acted upon, and one of its first results was the deliverance of Eubœa from the clutches of Philip. In the next place, there was formed among the most influential States, a league which comprised Eubœa, Corinth, Corcyra, Acharnania, Achaia and Megara. Then, by the eloquence of Demosthenes, Byzantium was won over to join this coalition; and being shortly afterwards besieged by Philip, was promptly assisted by Athens and rescued from its perilous position. Finally, he succeeded in reforming the navy laws, and in causing the Athenians to apply to war purposes the surplus revenue accruing from the Festival Fund.

All things seemed to be going on well for Greece, when the hopes of the patriotic party were dashed to the ground by the outbreak of another sacred war, which the sacrilege of the Locrians of Amphissa brought about. This war threw open the pass of Thermopylæ to Philip, who again entered Greece as the protector of religion. Instead of marching straight upon the Locrians and inflicting upon them the punishment which he was deputed by the Amphictyons to administer, he seized upon Elatea, which commanded the passes into Bœotia. News of this was brought to Athens in the evening, and filled the whole city with alarm. On the following day, an assembly was called to deliberate upon the measures which should be taken to meet and avert the impending calamity. The people crowded into their place of meeting. When the Senate had joined them, and given a report of the news which had been brought, the messenger who had announced the startling intelligence was intro-

duced, and repeated to the multitude the tidings which he had already delivered to the authorities. Thereupon the herald in the usual form cried out: "Does any one desire to speak?" All remained silent. He frequently repeated his demand, but no one responded to it, though it was their country's voice that called upon them to give their counsel. At last Demosthenes arose and spoke. The view which he took of the situation was, not that Thebes had been won over to the side of Philip, but that Philip had made this demonstration at her very gates, in order to strike terror into those of the Thebans who were hostile to him, and to inspire with confidence those who were working in his interest. Consequently, it must now be the policy of Athens to forget any injuries which she had received from Thebes, and in this critical juncture to stand by her. If this method were not pursued, the whole body of the Thebans would be thrown on the side of Philip, and once united with him, their combined forces would fall upon Attica. His advice, therefore, was that the Athenian troops should straightway march to Eleusis, because their presence there would inspirit those of the Thebans who were opposed to Philip; that ten ambassadors should proceed to Thebes, make no demands, require no conditions from them, but simply assure them that the Athenian troops were ready and awaited orders to help them. The line of action drawn out by him for Athens, was followed. He was one of the ten ambassadors chosen for this mission, and succeeded in joining in the closest alliance the two rival cities. They stood loyally together till the fatal battle of Cheronea, in which Philip routed their united forces, and practically became master of Greece. (B.C. 338.) Two years later Philip fell by the dagger of Pausanias, and the crown of Macedon was placed on the head of his son Alexander. (B.C. 336.)

## SECTION VI.

*From Cheronea till the Death of Demosthenes.*

After that disastrous battle, the party which had followed the counsels of Demosthenes and roused up the nation to resist Philip, was naturally enough obliged to hide its patriotic sentiments. The Macedonian party was everywhere in the ascendant. Nevertheless, the fallen statesman did not lose his credit with the Athenians. His adversary Æschines discovered this to his cost when, in the year B.C. 330, he brought forward his famous impeachment of Demosthenes, an impeachment which he had suffered to lie in abeyance for eight years. It will be remembered, from that which we have already said in the life of Æschines, that a friend of Demosthenes named Ctesiphon had proposed that the orator should be crowned with a golden crown, as some slight return for all the good that he had done for Athens, and that the proclamation of this crown should be made in the theatre, at the great Dionysiac festival. The proposal was accepted by the Council; but, before it could be made into a decree, Æschines intervened and stopped the proceeding, by announcing that he would file against it an accusation of illegality. It was against this man, and against his proposition that he now directed his impeachment, which in reality would affect, not Ctesiphon, but Demosthenes. The day of trial came, and ended in a complete triumph for Demosthenes. This was, we might say, almost the last halo of glory that shone round his head; for, six years afterwards, occurred his unfortunate transaction with Harpalus, a transaction which brought about his banishment from the scene of his triumphs and the cherished soil of Attica which he loved with so passionate a devotion.

Harpalus was Alexander's treasurer, and had by him been appointed to the Satrapy of Babylonia. Fleeing thence, he



came with a considerable squadron, and treasure to the amount of 720 talents, and anchored off the Piræus. His aim was to win over the Athenians to join him in his rebellion against Alexander. Many among the more ardent patriots were but too willing to listen to his proposals ; but those whose age and calm judgment enabled them to survey the whole project, and its very probable issue, dissuaded their fellow-citizens from venturing upon an undertaking, fraught with so great dangers to their national existence. Therefore, on the motion of Demosthenes, the port was closed against him. Only when he had dismissed his force and appeared in the guise of a refugee, was he suffered to present himself before the authorities. Almost immediately, a demand was made by the lieutenants of Alexander, that he should be delivered up to them. This was stoutly refused, as all considered it a base act of treachery to hand over to his enemies, one who had fled to their city for protection. Once more Demosthenes came forward to extricate from their difficulty his unfortunate fellow-countrymen. He proposed that they should lodge the treasure in the Parthenon, and keep Harpalus himself in safe custody. The gold which had been purloined by him from Alexander should be restored, but the revolted Satrap should not be delivered up to his vengeance. Harpalus escaped from the guardianship of those to whose safe-keeping he had been committed, and when the treasure which he had brought with him was examined, it was discovered to consist of but 350 talents. Whither had the other 370 talents gone ? No one could tell. The air was full of rumours ; the minds of men were distracted with suspicions. At last, to settle the matter, Demosthenes proposed that the Council of the Areopagus should examine into the affair. These calm, wise, unimpassioned men, with patient care sifted the evidence, and at the end of six months gave their verdict.

They discovered that nine persons were implicated in the disappearance of the 370 talents, which had been expended in bribery. At the head of these appeared the name Demosthenes. The penalty inflicted upon him was a fine of fifty talents. This sum he was unable to pay, and therefore was cast into prison. After a short time he contrived to escape, and went into exile. Plutarch says that he used to sit on the shores of Trœzen and Ægina, and with eyes full of tears look long and steadfastly towards Attica. After a year of great mental misery, hope once again welled up in the heart of the exile. Alexander died in B.C. 323, and as if that event had been the blast of a war trumpet, Greece sprang to arms, and made one more effort for freedom and fatherland. Demosthenes, now reconciled to Hyperides, in company with him raised his eloquent voice to aid the national movement. His friends at Athens, deeming the moment favourable, asked for his recall. Their petition was readily granted; a galley was sent to carry him back to the city, for the interests of which he had striven so long and so well; the people, headed by priests and rulers, came to the Piræus to meet him; and thence to the city his progress was one continuous triumph.

This glorious day was for Demosthenes, but as the flashing up of an expiring light, before extinction. The battle of Crannon utterly shattered the hopes of Greece. A Macedonian garrison was marched into Athens; she was forced to remodel her constitution; and to deliver up the leading politicians who had so persistently opposed both Alexander and his father Philip. Knowing well that he had nothing but death to expect from his victorious enemy, Demosthenes fled from Athens, and took sanctuary in the temple of Posidon in Ægina. A decree was passed in the Assembly condemning him to death, and those who were commissioned to carry that decree into execution, did not suffer any con-

siderable time to pass before they satisfied to the full the hatred of his enemies. Antipater chose out a certain actor named Archias, to track him to his hiding-place, and there despatch him. Following him to Ægina, he came to the temple, and tried at first by persuasive words to entice him from his place of safety, but to no purpose. Looking at him from the spot where he was seated, he is said to have sneeringly remarked: "You never won me by your acting; nor will you now win me by your promises". Seeing that soft words were of no avail, Archias now broke out into threats of violence. Thereupon Demosthenes exclaimed: "Now you speak like the Macedonian Oracle; previously you were merely acting a part". Then he told him to wait for a few moments while he wrote a letter to his friends. Rising from the place where he had been seated, he went into the inner part of the temple. There, drawing from his bosom a quill, he put the end of it into his mouth, and bit it as was his custom when about to write. As soon as he perceived that the powerful drug concealed in the quill had taken effect, he is said by Plutarch to have thus addressed Archias: "The sooner you now play the part of Creon in the tragedy, and cast forth this body unburied, the better. But I, gracious Posidon, quit thy temple while yet I live; as for Antipater and the Macedonians, they have not spared from defilement even thy sanctuary." Then, tottering forward, he was just able to pass the altar, before he dropped down dead at the feet of his would-be captor. (B.C. 322.)

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SECTION VII.

*Style of Demosthenes.*

All the works of Demosthenes have not come down to us. About half only has been saved. Yet, from that precious

collection, inadequate as it may seem to us to be, we are able to form a tolerably accurate judgment of him as a writer; when to this judgment we add all that has been said of his oratorical gifts, by men who actually heard him, we are able to conceive some idea of what his eloquence must have been, when animated with the energetic life which his action and his delivery must have breathed into it.

That which first strikes us when studying his speeches, is the brevity with which he is able to express his ideas on the most complicated and important questions. Yet, brief as he is, he is rarely, if ever, obscure. Notwithstanding his conciseness, there is in every question about which he treats, a richness of proof and a variety of means capable of satisfying the most obtuse intelligence, without wearying the best-informed and most quick-witted of his audience. Moreover, though studiously sparing of words, he is not by any means niggard of such oratorical developments as are requisite to make his thought stand out in bold relief. But these developments are concentrated in a phrase, sometimes in even a word which, as with a single stroke, presents before our minds a picture full of light and of life.

As we read on, we become conscious of another quality of his style; it is alive; it moves onwards, and draws us with it. We feel, as it were, the grip of his powerful hand, and the magnetic influence of his voice, hurrying us forward and thrilling us with the emotions of his own breast. We are forced to go with him. His very diction, by the care which has evidently been bestowed upon it, by the energy with which it is replete, by the familiar words out of which it is woven, throws over us a spell which we are powerless to resist. Perhaps, also, the crystal-like transparency of his language, combined with its popularity, and its homeliness, helps in no small degree to give to it this constraining force.

On that language, any one who is acquainted with the

style of Thucydides, cannot fail to see how deep an impress the writings of the historian have left. There is in both, the same laconic method of compressing into the smallest possible compass the product of their thought, and of giving to us only its quintessence. There is the same rapidity of movement, the same penetrating sharpness, the same vehemence; but, as Denis of Halicarnassus, after pointing out these similarities, remarks, the orator took from his model only those qualities which were suitable for the tribune, and never admitted into his harangues those hazardous turns, those poetic expressions, those badly worked out figures, which are to be found in some of the orations of antiquity. When he employs language of this kind, it is always of the most familiar description; at one time it is of a storm-cloud bursting upon them; then of an unskilful boxer who, instead of defending himself, puts his hand to the place struck by his adversary; then of the foundations of a house, and so on, all through his writings. From these comparisons he drew consequences so palpable, that the very porters, the corn carriers, and the market folk who vended their wares on the Agora, were able to lay hold of his ideas, and learn the lesson which they were intended to teach. Finally, in the words of Denis of Halicarnassus, we may say that in sublimity, he surpasses Thucydides, in simplicity, Lysias, and in the temperate or medium style, Isocrates and the immortal Plato.

ANALYSIS  
OF  
DEMOSTHENES' SPEECH

IN ANSWER

TO

ÆSCHINES

COMMONLY CALLED "THE CROWN ORATION".



DETAILED ANALYSIS  
OF  
DEMOSTHENES' SPEECH,  
COMMONLY CALLED  
"THE CROWN ORATION".

EXORDIUM.

I PRAY to the gods that the goodwill which I have ever manifested towards you may now meet with its reward ; that you may faithfully keep your oath, and allow me, in my reply, to follow that order which shall seem best to me. Your oath binds you to give to each party an equal hearing ; but if my antagonist is to dictate the line of defence, where, I ask, is the equality ? Æschines has over me two great advantages : first, he has nothing to lose by failing to win your votes ; I have everything ; secondly, his, being the accuser's part, will be listened to with rapt attention, for invective is always pleasanter than self-laudation. This latter is the task that falls to me. This suit, though aimed at Ctesiphon, strikes straight at me. I have a right, therefore, to take an interest in it, for on it will depend whether I lose your favour or retain it. Hence I need that impartiality which you are sworn to manifest, and particularly because I speak *after* my accuser, who from that fact undoubtedly has a great advantage over me. As, then, his indictment embraces my whole life both public and private, I once more



lift up my voice and beseech you to show me that goodwill which heretofore you have ever displayed towards me, and to pass upon this present case, such a judgment as will be in conformity with your oath, and will win for you that good report which you have ever enjoyed.

#### REFUTATION OF CHARGES FOREIGN TO THE CASE.

Events of B.C. 346. This corresponds to the "First Period" of Æschines.

Had Æschines kept to the question of illegality, I also would have made it my business to tread in his footsteps ; but as the greater part of his speech was devoted to my general character, I must endeavour to remove any prejudices which his words may have raised in your minds, prejudices which might affect the main point at issue between us.

With respect to his personal charges, I have a very simple answer to make : " You know me ; now, if you think that these charges are true, do not listen to me, no matter how great may have been my public services to the State. But, if I am a better man than he is, and—to put it moderately—no worse than my neighbours are, then look upon his aspersions upon my private life, as a presumption that his public charges are worthy of no greater credence, and show to me that goodwill which you have ever been wont to manifest. As for Æschines, it was foolish on his part to think that I would waste time upon the charges hurled at my private life. To these I may give a few passing words, after I have dealt with his aspersions upon my public career—that is to say, if any one cares to hear me upon such a subject.

He accuses me of having committed capital crimes ; then, instead of prosecuting me for these, he turns his indignant zeal against Ctesiphon, and proposes to disfranchise him. Now, had he thought that there was any chance of convict-

ing me, he would have favoured me with his attention, instead of bestowing it upon Ctesiphon. For if he was afraid of me, why is he not afraid of prosecuting me under the name "Ctesiphon"?

With respect to the points against which he is directing his prosecution, if he had any case, there are severe penalties already enacted by law against them. Had he employed these laws against me, his conduct would have been consistent. But what has he done? At the very time when the matter which he is now prosecuting happened, he refused to bring it to a trial; now, however, after so many years he makes all this noise about it, and is merely playing a part. His whole speech or pleading is directed against one man, while his indictment is levelled at another. That very fact is cause sufficient to acquit Ctesiphon, for he should not be made the scapegoat of Æschines' hatred against me.

The prosecution, being insincere as a whole, consequently breaks down in every part.

At the beginning of the Phocian war, for which I am in no way responsible, the Athenians were favourably disposed towards the Phocian people. All Peloponnesus was paralysed by internal dissensions, and therefore exposed to the intrigues of Philip. In the course of that war, it was evident that the Thebans would be forced to fall back upon you for support. To prevent any such coalition, Philip flew to their assistance, and concluded a peace with you. Why did you accept that peace? It was because during the war the other Greeks did not support you, although you waged it for the common advantage of all. Therefore, it was your disgust at their behaviour, and not any urging on my part, that caused the peace. As for the calamities which followed after that peace, they sprang from the venality of Philocrates, of Æschines, and of those who entertained the same sentiments as they did. In thus explaining how the peace was brought about,

I have no other interest than a love of truth. I neither proposed it, nor did I take part in any of the negotiations for it. Yet he has the audacity to say, that I am to blame for making that peace, and for making it without allies ! Now, if he was so well acquainted with all my manœuvres, why did he not expose me ? Why did he not oppose me ? He spoke not one syllable against me ! How could he ! It was impossible ; for it was clear to the whole world, long before this time, that we had no allies. The fact of the matter is, he has not spoken a word of truth !

His charges, besides being slanders against me, are insults to you. For, if you behaved as he represents you to have behaved, you called a congress of the Greeks, and then acted quite independently of it. If you did so, you were traitors. But the project was never even entertained, for the simple reason that it would have been meaningless. Thus far, then, I am clear from blame.

#### THE EMBASSY.

##### (1) *Before the Ruin of Phocis.*

After peace was made, compare my conduct with the conduct of Æschines, and you will straightway be able to say which of us was Philip's friend. I proposed that, immediately and without the slightest delay, the peace should be ratified ; for it was Philip's interest to put off that ratification to as remote a date as possible. By so doing, he would gain time to make fresh encroachments. Now, sooner than lose the advantages to be gained by the peace, you would have patiently endured these encroachments. As a matter of fact, he actually did make these encroachments, a proceeding which I tried in vain to prevent. For proposing so salutary a measure, I won for myself no credit ; but, for having paid to the ambassadors the commonest acts of

courtesy, I am subjected to a grave accusation. However, you shall hear the decree. (*The decree is here read.*)

The fact of having proposed this decree proves my good faith; but the ambassadors disregarded it, and not only wasted three whole months—a delay which gave Philip time to reduce Thrace—but accepted bribes to remain in his camp till he was quite ready to march upon Phocis. Thus we were too late to give you warning, and so enable you to hold him in check at Thermopylæ.

Now, although you could not do this, Philip did not feel himself secure. He was in grievous fear lest you should march into Phocis. To prevent any such eventuality, he made a bargain with Æschines to keep you quiet, by retailing to you a series of falsehoods. I must apologise for making this digression; but the rambling character of the prosecution has made it necessary.

After this Æschines laboured to convince you, that Philip and yourselves had a common interest in the downfall of Thebes. Unfortunately you lent to him a too credulous ear. What was the consequence? The Phocians were ruined, and you were filled with panic fear. In proof of what I say, there are at hand your own decree and the insolent letter which Philip sent to you. That he was thus able to flout you before the eyes of Greece, gave to him over our allies an ascendancy which otherwise he could not have acquired. Therefore, this baneful result is due to Æschines.

(2) *After the Ruin of Phocis.*

That he is responsible for it, I will now put beyond the shadow of a doubt. By the ruin of the Phocians, and the deception practised upon the Athenians, Philip found his hands enormously strengthened. You, however, and the rest of Greece were bewildered and paralysed, so that Philip was ready to make war upon all; for, owing to different

causes, over which I had no control, neither you nor the rest of the Greeks would heed the warnings which I gave. What was the consequence? The people were first of all enslaved, and then the leaders who betrayed them were themselves betrayed. Philip never either respected or trusted them; and when he no longer stood in need of them, he ignominiously cast them aside. Æschines and all those of his stamp have to thank me, and patriots like me, that they are still paid to betray their country; for if there were no patriots, there would be no country for them to betray. Yet he pretends to be the friend of Philip and of Alexander. I would not dignify him by any such title. He is a mere hireling, and such you think him to be.

#### FORMAL REPLY TO INDICTMENT.

As Æschines has wished, I come now to the indictment. In this part of my reply, I will follow the order which that document has traced out for me. First, as regards my policy. The details of the honours voted to me, must be considered with reference to my deserts, to see whether I have merited these honours. Also, they must be considered with respect to the laws, to see whether they in any way transgress them. To recall to your minds my foreign policy is no digression, for the vote of thanks is grounded upon my whole career, which has been spent chiefly in foreign affairs. My responsibility does not begin with the time when Philip commenced to aggrandise himself. This aggrandisement was in no small degree helped on by the corruption of public men; for by their assistance, he was able to add to the confusion which then reigned in the internal affairs of Greece. His action imposed upon Athens and upon me, an imperative duty—I at once undertook the management of foreign affairs. Does conduct such as this show either subservience or neutrality? Those who were

subservient, as well as those who tried to keep neutrality, suffered far more than Athens did. Not to have resisted Philip, even if he had been satisfied with victory, would have covered us with eternal disgrace; but since his triumph meant our ruin, our resistance was all the more necessary and honourable.

Suppose, however, that we waive all question of expediency, what was it becoming that our city should do, or that her councillors should advise, when taking into consideration the repute which she had won for herself, and the courage of Philip, a courage which it would have been disgraceful for us not to surpass? The noblest act that she could do, the noblest advice that she could follow, was to resist. This you elected to do, even before I gave you my counsel to do it. I do not deny that I gave it; and in so acting, I set aside all those diplomatic grievances urged by other statesmen, though Æschines charges me with employing them for the purpose of exciting odium. But, I ask you, was not the attempt of Philip to control Eubœa, Megara, and the Hellespont, a true *casus belli*? Ought not Greece to have resisted such tyranny? If Greece ought tamely to have crouched under it, then she was in the wrong, and so was I, for I did my utmost to rouse her into fierce resistance. If she was right in following my advice, it was her place to stand in the breach. Nevertheless, the first act of hostility came not from us, but from him. Examine the decree of Eubulus, and that of Aristophon; then read Philip's letter.

From this document you perceive that no complaint is made of me; for he could not mention my name without reminding you of his own bad faith, against which I boldly stood up, and to which I opposed every means at my command. I thwarted him in Peloponnesus and in Eubœa; I saved Byzantium and the Hellespont; I procured for Athens glory and gratitude.

Æschines maintained that I was bribed to defend the

Locrians. My answer to that charge is, that, by abstaining from thwarting their designs, I might have obtained as much from Philip and from his dependants. His agents, however, did not come to me; they went to Æschines. On this occasion I received a crown for my services; Aristonicus proposed the conferring of it almost in the very words in which the decree of Ctesiphon is couched; and Æschines did not dare to oppose the measure. The confidence of the Athenians in me, as expressed in that decree of Aristonicus, did not expose them to the ridicule of foreigners; for up to the date of its publication, my policy had proved to be the best.

Failing in Eubœa, Philip next tried to cut off your supply of corn, by winning over the Byzantines to oppose you. But when they remonstrated with him, and pointed out that in making such a demand, he was exceeding the Articles of the treaty between him and them, he laid siege to their city. In these circumstances your duty was plain. You aided the Byzantines and saved their city. I was the agent who brought about all this, and from my policy you were crowned by the Byzantines and the inhabitants of Chersonesus.

In addition to these advantages, that policy brought out into sharp contrast before the public, the generosity of Athens, and the perfidy of Philip. He was the ally of the Byzantines; you had against them some ground of complaint. He attempted to ruin them; you saved them; and for that act you were crowned—a reward which no other statesman has procured for you.

That this generosity on your part was the public generosity of the State, I will easily prove to you. I proposed, only that you should act up to the brilliant example set before you by your ancestors. They assisted Thebes and Corinth, anciently their enemies, against Sparta, and at a time when Sparta was at the very height of her power. They willingly

incurred danger, to protect those who trusted to their honour. They remembered that all men must, at some time or other, pay the debt of nature, and, being brave men, they were ready for the sake of honour to anticipate that time.

It was in this spirit that you protected Sparta against Thebes, and by that act gave a signal proof that you nobly lay aside your just resentment against a State, whenever its freedom and its safety are in peril.

Again : you protected Eubœa against Thebes, just as you defended it against the encroachments of Philip ; although Eubœan leaders had deprived you of Oropus. In bringing about this act, I lent my aid, but I will not just yet say a word about it. Your action was most generous, and that generosity imposed upon me, your adviser, a duty to urge you to continue to display your generosity. Had I given you any other advice, you would of a certainty not have followed it.

It is necessary for me now to say a few words about the next stage of my policy ; I refer to the legislation which I caused to be made for the maintenance of our navy. On this point also, I can prove my disinterestedness, by mentioning the names of those who would have paid a high price to induce me to leave in abeyance the measures which I was determined to pass. These men had a very strong interest for so doing. Read the decree and the registers of Tri-rarchs.

To whom, I ask, was my law of the most importance ? Was it to the poor, or to the rich ? Most assuredly to the rich ; for they might by their gold have hindered that decree from passing into law. I have good reason, therefore, to boast of something more than of my courage and impunity. I can boast of the fact that my legislation rectified the old code, which imposed the burden upon the wrong shoulders ; and of a constant course of large-hearted and noble policy, incorruptible both at home and abroad.



## REPLY TO THE TECHNICAL SIDE OF THE INDICTMENT.

I say nothing more of the merits for which I deserve a crown, though the greatest yet remain to be told. However, since you are well acquainted with them, I will altogether omit them.

Only the technical side of the indictment now remains to be answered, and to that I will at once direct your attention.

In his attack upon me, Æschines has succeeded in so confusing matters, that you cannot possibly form a right judgment upon them, unless some one disentangles them for you. I will now do this. With regard to responsibility, I fully admit it for any public money which I have handled ; but for my own free gifts, I most emphatically do not admit it ; no, not for even a single hour. In our whole legislative code, there is no law that would impose upon us so tyrannical a responsibility. The meanest intellect can see how vast a difference there is between that for which we are obliged to render an account, and that which we bestow out of the generous impulse of our hearts. That this difference has been recognised among us, can be established by documentary evidence, the veracity of which no one can gainsay.

Read the decree made in honour of Nausicles. Read also that in honour of Charidemus and of Diotimus. Each of these men was, and acknowledged himself to be, accountable for the sums intrusted to him for the administration of his public offices ; but none of them either was or considered himself to be in any way accountable for money bestowed by him as a free gift. Their case is identical with mine. From my own private fortune, I gave free gifts to the State. I submitted my accounts to examination, and had them passed without the slightest opposition from Æschines. His complete silence upon certain parts of the decree, proves beyond

a doubt that he knew that the matters for which I was crowned, lay quite outside the circle of my accountability.

Read the decree passed in my honour.

Now if, as is evident from this decree, I gave to the State, is it not infamous to denounce as a crime the gratitude which that gift naturally called forth? I say nothing of the thousands who before me have thus been honoured. I will ask only this question: Is the publicity of the reward for the interest of the receiver, or of the giver? It is undoubtedly for the interest of the giver. His wish is to provoke emulation. That this is the aim of the law, is manifest from the very terms in which it is couched. Read it. From that you will see how plain is its meaning, and that Æschines is either malicious or mad.

#### SPECIAL CHARGES REFUTED.

##### (1) *Attack upon the Private Life of Æschines.*

My accuser ventures to draw for us the portrait of a true statesman, and breaks out into mere abuse, which needs no answer, inasmuch as those matters against which it is directed, are not offences punishable by law. Now, although abuse is no argument, yet I consider that it must be met and duly chastised.

In the first place, Æschines ought to have attacked me as his personal enemy, and not as the enemy of Athens. In the next place, he ought to have cited me before a tribunal which could take cognisance of the acts which he considered to be punishable by law. Instead of pursuing this manly, straightforward course, he adopts one which can end only in discrediting Athens, without being able to punish me.

Furthermore, I repeat again, though his abuse is no

argument, yet the calumnies which he has uttered against me, compel me to vindicate my character. His charges are of such a nature, that no man of repute would dare to utter them. He, indeed, has no right to be considered a man of repute, therefore I suppose it is that he has made them. If I were to tell you that which you know about his family, I should only disgrace myself; I will, therefore, confine my remarks to his ingratitude and his treason.

(2) *Attack upon his Political Life.*

When Antiphon came to set fire to our arsenal, and being apprehended, was put upon his trial, Æschines defended him and procured his release. But the Council of the Areopagus had him arrested, punished him as he deserved, and censured Æschines by substituting in his place Hyperides. Read the depositions which prove these assertions.

The substitution of Hyperides for Æschines, was an unmistakable censure. Here, then, is one point of comparison between him and me.

Again, when Philip sent hither his agent Python, I confuted him. Æschines, however, was his ardent supporter. Not content with thus showing his zeal for the Macedonian, he went so far as to hold interviews with Anaxinus the spy. Here are the depositions which prove these allegations. On these his various acts of treason, I will not any longer dwell.

As if it was not enough during the peace to side with Philip against you, he continued to do so during the war. If he denies this, let him point out any service that he rendered you. He was perfectly neutral; that neutrality is a proof of my innocence and of his disloyalty. It is in a special way an evidence of his disloyalty, for whenever there was any mischief to be wrought, he at once abandoned his

masterly inaction and became wonderfully energetic. In the affair of Amphissa, witness the aid which he gave to Philip. If I speak not the truth in this matter, may the curse of heaven light upon me ; if I speak the truth, may its blessing abide with me.

Yet withal, Æschines is so despicable a traitor that you will scarcely believe that he ruined Greece. You could not, and you did not, believe that he ruined Phocis. Nevertheless the Amphissian war, which ruined everything, was exclusively his work. That work he accomplished in the very teeth of my protest, which unfortunately you disregarded. Though you would not, in former times, hear the truth when I spoke it to you, you shall now at least hear it from my lips, and it will be to you a useful lesson.

For Philip, it was a matter of almost vital importance to bring both Thebes and Thessaly into conflict with you ; for by so doing, he would be able to put an end to the war which crippled his trade, and therefore seriously damaged the prosperity of his kingdom. Skilful strategist as he was, he saw that the war could be brought to a close, only by the invasion of our territory. Also, he saw that an invasion was impossible, if Thessaly refused him aid, and if Thebes blocked his passage through the country. To obtain either the one or the other, he had to come forward as their champion, though he was already their ally. Therefore, as soon as he heard of the difficulty at Pylæ, he seized upon the advantage which it offered. Seeing that he must have the aid of an Athenian in the transaction, he bribed Æschines, who was sent with your authority. On his arrival, he lost no time in accomplishing the business for which his palm had been gilded. He induced the Amphictyons "to beat the bounds" of the territory in dispute. Thereupon the Locrians manfully defended what they deemed to be their rightful possession, and defended it with success against the Amphictyons.

These latter, being worsted, called in Philip to their defence. This was the very object at which he had been aiming. He was elected champion of the league, and marching forward, occupied Elatea.

Comprehending the full import of this dangerous move, the Thebans, urged by my advice, did not join Philip. They fell back upon you. In proof of these statements, read the decree of the Amphictyons, the dates at which these events occurred, and the letter of Philip, a letter from which you will see that he could not have moved one step without the pretext afforded him by the Amphictyons. Æschines gave him just what he needed. He is answerable therefore for all that followed.

#### CONTRAST BETWEEN HIS POLICY AND THAT OF ÆSCHINES.

From the fact of having to speak of his treasons against the State, I am led to speak now of my own services to it. Treading in the steps of Eubulus and of Aristophon, I did my utmost to promote an alliance with Thebes. Æschines was loud in his praise of these men and of their policy. Yet, when I endeavoured to accomplish that at which they aimed, he denounced my action, and by the opposition which he and those who abetted him brought to bear upon me, almost succeeded in ruining our fatherland. In proof of what I say, read the decrees and the respective replies of Athens and of Thebes. When Philip seized upon Elatea, he did so in the hope that the line of action which I advocated, would prove a total failure. In the panic fear which fell upon you all after that daring move on his part, I was the only one who stood forth and answered the appealing cry of my country, to give to her salutary advice. You all, no doubt, were willing to obey her voice, I was the only one ready to proffer the

counsel which could save her. For, in circumstances such as those which surrounded us, a man was needed who from the very beginning had narrowly observed and closely followed up Philip's tactics. I was that man. Therefore, let me here recall to your minds the very words in which I then gave you my counsel. I told you that Philip could not yet count upon Thebes, but came that by terrorism he might complete his mastery; that his success depended upon the extent of your generosity; that you must support your friends at Thebes, and elect ten ambassadors to share with your generals the control of the army. "These ambassadors," I said, "are to offer everything, and to ask for nothing in return." This is a summary of the policy for which, in the full sense of the word, I made myself responsible. Read the decree which I proposed.

By this decree, Athens and Thebes were united. If it was an unwise decree, it ought at once to have been denounced. It was not denounced. I am willing to stand by it, and by it to be judged. It is evident that in proposing it, I did my duty, and chose that which was best. What more could my country require from me? At that time, while I was thus labouring for it, you, Æschines, did absolutely nothing. Why was this? It was because I played the part of a statesman that deals with contingencies, while you played the part of a sycophant that keeps to results. Your plain duty is now to criticise my policy, and not to complain of events. Unfortunately, we did not succeed. But at whose door should the blame be laid? Surely not at mine; for I did my best. To the generals and to Providence, ought our defeat to be attributed. That defeat would have been far more disastrous, had we fought alone and in our own territory. At any rate, I acted a more honourable part than you did; for I did my duty, and you did not. Yet you now bring me to justice for doing that which, at the time when I did it, you had not the courage

to oppose. You boast of our misfortunes, and yet they are the materials out of which you gain your livelihood. When we are prosperous, you are dumb ; but when adversity presses upon us, then we feel you as we feel an old wound, which pains us only when we are ill.

Even if I could have foreseen all the disasters which have burst upon us, my policy was the right one to pursue ; for, although Athens is unfortunate, she is not base, as she undoubtedly would be, had she without a struggle suffered Philip to pursue his conquests. She never sold herself at a high price, as she might so easily have done, to those whose aim it was to enslave Greece. Never, at any time, have cowardly counsellors been welcome to her.

Look back at the noble examples left by our ancestors, for our imitation. Call to mind the heroism which they displayed at Salamis, and the severity with which they punished Cyrus. Their fixed idea was that they were the children, not of their parents only, but of freedom and of fatherland. My claim to honour rests upon the fact that my counsels and my actions spurred them on to keep alive in their hearts that spirit which, I am proud to say, burns bright and clear in your own. Therefore, this envious action of Æschines casts a slur upon you, more than it does upon me. It proclaims abroad that you have acted amiss. Have you done so? No ; by the spirits of all those who bled to maintain your principles, you were not wrong !

These men the State has honoured, whether they died in victory or in defeat. If, then, you crowned them with honour, why should you not crown me also? Animated with their spirit, I acted as they in like circumstances acted. It is in that spirit that you ought to try my cause.

Thus far, I have spoken of the past ; it is but right not to omit matters that are of comparatively recent occurrence. Look, for instance, at our embassy to Thebes. It was

fraught with difficulty. Philip's envoys were heard first, and made a plausible appeal to Theban selfishness. After them I spoke, and convinced the Thebans. I need not here repeat my arguments. But, in consequence of them, they admitted you into their city, and trusted you among their wives and their children. By that act, they pronounced you to be both brave and temperate; nor did the sequel belie the confidence which they reposed in your courage and in your discipline. How did Æschines behave on learning your success? If he rejoiced with you, he cannot condemn your policy; if he did not, he is a traitor.

The success of my exertions caused Philip evident distress. Æschines, of course, sneers at them, as called forth by an unprecedented danger, and not as being a display of unprecedented power. But to meet that danger, no one was better fitted than I. I met it; and I met it in such a way as to alarm Philip and merit a crown, to the bestowal of which Æschines, for a wonder, made no opposition. Yet the decree which then awarded me the crown, is identical with that against which he now institutes a prosecution, as if it was unconstitutional! This precedent throws a protecting shield over Ctesiphon. But Æschines, by reason of the lapse of time, is now able to misrepresent facts; he brings forward these statements at a time when their veracity cannot be tested. Moreover, he would have you form your opinion of himself and of me, not by your life-long knowledge of us both, but by our speeches, which sound in your ears but for a day. By that request, he admits that the test of our lives would condemn him. Look what my life has done for you! I won over to your side Thebes and Eubœa; I obtained command of the Hellespont; I made Philip respect us even in our defeat. These are the true tests of statesmanship. Therefore, since you did not apply them, I will.



In what condition were our affairs when I first came into power? Our only resources were the minor islands. The more powerful were alienated from us; our nearest neighbours were hostile.

What position did Philip hold? Over his own forces, he had complete control; he was rich enough to carry into effect all his designs; absolute enough to keep his secrets inviolable; and as well supplied with Athenian advocates to plead his cause as Athens herself. Yet, in spite of these advantages which he had over me, I was able to gain for you many useful allies, and augment your sinews of war, without causing Athens to make any greater sacrifices than she had already made for Greece, from the battle of Salamis down to the present time. His strictures upon my proceedings came too late to save our resources. Now, if at this date he accuses and condemns my action, what imprecations would he call down upon my head, if those States had thrown in the weight of their influence and power upon Philip's side? His conduct now, is like that of a physician dilating, at a funeral, upon the remedies which would have saved the departed person's life. The only defeats which I sustained were those of our soldiers. For these disasters I was not responsible. My successes were diplomatic, and the course of them was uninterrupted. As to my political foresight, it was never obscured by a single cloud. My courage never wavered. I conquered Philip on the only point on which it was in my power to conquer him—I could not be corrupted!

Having stated the grounds which I gave Ctesiphon for framing his decree, I will now point out to you, O Athenians! what grounds I gave to you for honouring me.

You defended the policy which I traced out for you, whenever any of my enemies assailed it. That defence was the

greatest eulogium that could be passed on me. It is a distinction, never to have been prosecuted for any public measure. This is an honour which, thanks to Æschines, I cannot claim. He reviles me as unlucky. But ill-luck is not a legitimate ground for reviling. Whether it is or is not, I boldly assert that the fortune of Athens is always relatively good ; but the fortune of mankind at large is in these days bad. That this latter assertion is true, no one will venture to deny, for it is patent to the most careless observer ; the first is proved by the fact that we saved our honour, and fared better than those States which sacrificed to Philip both us and their own honour. As for my personal good fortune, that is a matter which has nothing whatever to do with the public at large. Yet, of whatever nature it is, it is better than that of Æschines.

#### CONTRAST BETWEEN HIS FORTUNE AND THAT OF ÆSCHINES.

I received an excellent education, and, both as a private citizen and as a statesman, served with distinction the interests of my country.

In the early part of your life, you were a kind of "servant of all work" in a school ; then a deputy sorcerer by night, and a deputy green-grocer by day. When you were at last enrolled among the number of the citizens, you were first a clerk and swindler ; then a player of third-rate parts, and a thief ; and, both as a player and as a thief, you were often soundly whipped. At last you entered the arena of politics. How did you conduct yourself in this new sphere of action ? As long as Athens was prosperous, you slunk into the background and hid your head ; when she was

in difficulties, you came into prominence and displayed yourself.

By way of contrast, compare my life with your own; then ask the judges which they prefer. Even to-day, and in this trial, the question under discussion concerning me is whether I am deserving of a reward; concerning you, however, it is whether you should be expelled from your position, such as it is. As for my private benefactions, I would rather not speak of them; facts speak for themselves. But concerning my public administration, I have still a few words to say.

If under the sun there is a government or a nation that has not fallen under the thralldom of Macedon, then I am willing it should be laid to my fault that Athens is not free. But is there one? No; there is not! Yet Æschines has the audacity to blame me, knowing as he does full well, that in blaming me, he blames Athens also. The aim of other accusers is to punish crime. Men, as a rule, forgive error and pity misfortune. Æschines, however, is so differently constituted from other men, that he actually holds me criminally guilty for our ill success! Then, with outrageous effrontery, he solemnly calls upon me not to mislead you, just as if all during this contest he had spoken fairly and moderately. You, O Athenians, are far too intelligent to be led astray by this paltry trick! If in the past I have been able to exert over you any influence, I have always employed it for your good; just as an upright man should do, ever putting in the foremost place the common weal of the State. Æschines, however, wastes his energy and ability in a private quarrel, in a mere rhetorical display which has no value whatever, particularly as it is the energy, the ability, of a worthless citizen, that rejoices in the success of our public enemy. Moreover, he is proved guilty of insincerity, for until the battle with Philip, he denied all connection with him; but

after that event, he openly proclaimed it, and his proclamation of it was at once arrogant and absurd.

When, at the conclusion of the war, the State wished to hold a solemn mourning over the dead, it chose me, and not Æschines, to pronounce their funeral oration. Why was this? Because it knew us both. It knew that my sorrow for them was sincere, the sorrow of Æschines only feigned. Moreover, the friends of those who had so gloriously fallen for fatherland, chose my house in which to celebrate the funeral feast.

Lastly, the public monument erected to commemorate their valour, in its own mute way repudiates the judgment of Æschines, who always waited till events had happened and then gave it, when of course it was worthless.

When calamities fell upon you, his whole manner clearly showed that he was filled with joy. He exulted in them because he could impute them to me. But that was not the only reason; he was glad because his master had succeeded.

Not content with this, he slanders me in a way even more ridiculous still. He charges me with *Philippising*. No; it was not I; it was his partisans that everywhere throughout Greece carried out the designs of Philip. Athens is free from this stain of treachery with respect to the rest of Greece, and I am free from it with respect to Athens. I claim honour for this, as well as for my minor services in repairing the walls. If the truth must be told, our true fortification, our real wall, was the alliance which I made for you. I did whatever prudence could dictate. On every side I made Attica secure from invasion and from famine. I left no point undefended. Had there been in Thessaly and in Arcadia one other man such as myself, Greece would have been saved. I am not overstating the facts. Each of them can be proved beyond the possibility of contradiction. Had

my policy succeeded, it would have secured for you supremacy over Greece. Though it failed, yet it saved your honour, and left upon that honour neither spot nor stain. How different has been the conduct of Æschines! He sold himself to our enemies. He attacked those who were patriotic. He prostituted his eloquence to the service of his private enmities, and employed it in political matters only when he saw that it would be useless to Athens. Had he been honest, his diligence would have greatly benefited our State; but from him she had not so much as his bare goodwill. When calamities befell us, he came forward to insult us. In contrast with me, he calls to your memory the great heroes of ancient times. These worthies the Court naturally sets high above me. But I maintain that, though I cannot pretend to put myself upon an equality with them, I deserve thanks and reward for having, as they did, done my utmost for the honour and the glory of the State. They did for it far more than I could ever hope to do. Yet even they had their detractors. I do not challenge comparison with them. I challenge comparison with Æschines; with the men of his party; and with the statesmen of my own time. I far surpassed both him and them, at a time when Athens was free enough to judge between us. Now she is fallen. I have fallen with her. That fall has been the occasion of his elevation. As long as I was able, I laboured for her; I loved her. In spite of this prosecution, from which she could not protect me, I never made the nation's humiliation my glory and my hope of better fortune.

## PERORATION.

Therefore, ye immortal gods! reject, I beseech ye, the impious prayers and wishes of men such as Æschines and his followers are! If possible, inspire them with a better

spirit and with better dispositions towards our State. But if they cannot be corrected, exterminate them, whether they are on sea or on land! Strike them, I pray ye, with sudden death! As for us who survive them, speedily deliver us from the dangers which threaten us. Grant us safety and security, and throw over us the shield of your protecting presence.















